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THE

WOMEN OF METHODISM:

ITS THREE FOUNDRESSES,

SUSANNA WESLEY, THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON, AND BARBARA HECK;

WITH SKETCHES OF THEIR FEMALE ASSOCIATES AND SUCCESSORS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DENOMINATION.

By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D.

A CENTENARY OFFERING TO THE WOMEN OF AMERICAN METHODISM, FROM THE AMERICAN METHODIST LADIES' CENTENARY ASSOCIATION.

New York:
PUBLISHED BY CARLTON & PORTER,
200 MULBERRY-STREET.
1866.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1866, by

CARLTON & PORTER,

in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

DEDICATORY PREFACE.

To Mrs. Bishop Hamline and
Miss Frances E. Willard.

Ladies: In submitting to you the volume which the "American Methodist Ladies' Centenary Association" has, through you, as their president and secretary, requested me to write, an apologetic remark is due to both the public and myself. A good authority has said that "no man can do anything thoroughly in literature or art unless he rides it as a hobby." Hobbyism in literature is, however, particularly obnoxious to criticism, to popular criticism at least, especially if it inflicts on the public a multiplication of books of substantially the same subject. If I incur this risk I cannot blame myself. In my historic writings on Methodism I have contemplated but two tasks; having concluded the first of these attempts, and issued two volumes of the second, I had hoped to complete the latter before the present date, and then turn to quite other labors. But the command of the Centenary Committee, to prepare its "Centenary Book," could not be disobeyed. This centenary volume had hardly been published before your command also reached me, and here is my response. So important is this centenary occasion of Methodism, so capable and promising of transcendent results, not only to the Church, but to the religious welfare of the country generally, that I have felt compelled by my conscience to respond to your call.

The preparation of this small volume has deeply interested me. My previous historical studies of early Methodism have convinced me that no other modern, perhaps no ancient, section of the Church possessed richer materials for the illustration of female piety and agency in religion than Methodism. My recent revision of these materials convinces me, as I have remarked somewhere in the following pages, that there could hardly be a

better revelation of the primitive and interior life of the denomination than would be a thorough account of its early "devout women," especially the female correspondents and associates of Wesley; but such a work would require elaborate research in the contemporary Methodist literature, and especially a minute study of Wesley's letters, and of the frequent but obscure allusions of his Journals, and their collation with our old and numerous biographical works. The limits imposed necessarily on the present volume by its immediate purpose have forbid any such comprehensive attempt; I have endeavored, nevertheless, to so plan the book, and condense and group its materials, as to serve in part this object, and to prepare a record of our "elect ladies," which, after the centenary is passed, may abide a permanent part of our Church literature, till at least a better hand shall give us such a volume as here indicated.

As in the preface to my "Centenary Book," I may express the hope that you and other readers, who may have followed me over some of the same ground in my larger works, will not find these sketches uninteresting, though they must be, in part substantially, a reproduction of data already given, and sometimes with but little variation of style. In my larger books they occur in detached fragments; here they are given in more biographic unity and detail. Of many of the present characters I have, however, heretofore had no occasion to treat; of the familiar ones I have endeavored, with some success, to procure new materials. Several of the sketches include facts never before published in this country; and some of them, like Grace Murray, the dearest of all her sex to the pure and great heart of John Wesley, are not without romantic interest. I have succeeded also in obtaining some new data respecting Barbara Heck; and though our information concerning that memorable woman must forever remain irreparably deficient, I have been able to trace her dimly to her peaceful end. It is my fervent prayer that this small tribute to the great designs which you and the women of American Methodism generally are so magnificently planning may have some humble share in promoting your success.

ABEL STEVENS.

MAMARONECK PARSONAGE,
January, 1866.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.....Page 3
Women in Church History..... 9
Their Peculiar Activity in Methodism..... 10
Wesley and Women..... 14
He organizes their Activity in Religion..... 12

PART I

SUSANNA WESLEY AND WESLEYAN METHODISM.

Page

CHAPTER I.

SUSANNA WESLEY.

Religious Condition of England in the Eighteenth Century... 23
Epworth Rectory..... 24
Early Life and Character of Mrs. Wesley..... 25
Her Beauty..... 26
Her Husband, Samuel Wesley. 29
Life in the Rectory..... 32
Its Children..... 33
Its singular Domestic System.. 35
Adam Clarke's Opinion of the Family..... 40
Domestic Trials..... 41
The Rectory the Cradle of Methodism..... 43
Mrs. Wesley's Influence on her Son and Methodism..... 43
Important Examples..... 44
Her Death..... 49
Results of her Agency in the Religious World..... 50
Present Extent of Methodism.. 53

CHAPTER II.

MARY FLETCHER AND HER COMPANIONS.

Her Relation to Wesley..... 56
Her Character..... 56
Her Early Life..... 56
Her Schools and Usefulness... 61
Margaret Lewen..... 62
Mrs. Fletcher's Public Labors. 63
Her Marriage to Fletcher..... 66
Her Life at Madeley..... 66
Her Happy old Age..... 67
Her Death..... 69
Madeley Mementoes..... 71
Her Companions..... 74
Sarah Ryan..... 75
Wesley's Letters to her..... 75
Sketch of her Life..... 77
Her Death..... 78
Sarah Crosby..... 79
Wesley Corresponds with her.. 80
Sketch of her Life..... 82
Her Death..... 86
Sarah Lawrence..... 87
Her Devotion and Usefulness.. 90
Women and Methodism..... 91

CHAPTER III.

FURTHER NOTICES OF WESLEYAN WOMEN.

Lady Fitzgerald..... 93
Her Sufferings..... 94
Her Good Works..... 95
Her Death by Fire..... 97
Hester Ann Rogers..... 98

	Page
Sketch of her Life	98
Interview with Fletcher	102
She witnesses Wesley's Death.	103
Her own Death	103
Elizabeth Ritchie (Mrs. Mortimer)	104
Her Relations with Wesley	104
Mysticism	105
She resides with Wesley	107
Her Usefulness	109
Her Death	110
Lady Maxwell	110
Her Co-operation with Wesley	111
Her Death	113
Grace Murray	114
Her Character	114
Sketch of her Life	115
Wesley in Love with her	117
Her Account of herself	119
Wesley's Disappointment	124
His Interview with her in Old Age	127
His Unfortunate Marriage with Mrs. Vizelle	128
Dinah Evans	129
The Heroine of a Novel	130
Sketch of her Life	130
The Dairyman's Daughter	134
Sketch of Elizabeth Wallbridge	141

PART II.

SELINA, COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON, AND CALVINISTIC METHODISM.

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON.

Unity of Calvinistic and Arminian Methodism	145
Sketch of the Life of Lady Huntingdon	146
Her Relations with Wesley	147
Whitefield and his Noble Hearers	150
Her Female Companions	150
Her Travels and Usefulness	151
Her Control of Calvinistic Methodism	152
Lord Dartmouth	157
Remarkable Scenes	157
Trevecca College	161
Interesting Scenes there	163
Lady Huntingdon's Connection	164
Consequences of Whitefield's Death	165
The Countess's Plans for America	165
Missionary Scenes	167
Her Death	170
Her Charities	171
Her Character	171
Results of Calvinistic Methodism	172

PART III.

BARBARA HECK AND AMERICAN METHODISM.

CHAPTER I.

BARBARA HECK.

Her Position in American Ecclesiastical History	175
Story of the "Palatines"	176
Barbara Heck's Early Life	180
Voyage to America	182
Philip Embury	183
Falling Away of the Palatines.	184
Their Restoration	185

Page
Names of the First Congregation 186
Captain Webb 188
The old Rigging Loft..... 188
First Chapel and Parsonage.. 189
Wesley's Missionaries..... 192
The Palatines retire to Northern New York..... 192
Death of Embury..... 193
The Emburys and Hecks go to Lower Canada 193
To Upper Canada 193
They Found Methodism at Augusta..... 193
William Losee..... 194
The First Itinerant in Canada. 194
Death of Paul Heck..... 197
Death of Barbara Heck..... 198
Descendants of the Emburys and Hecks..... 198
The "Old Blue Church" Graveyard..... 199, 203
The Heck Homesteads..... 206
Extraordinary Results..... 207

CHAPTER II.

ASBURY AND HIS FEMALE FRIENDS.

Asbury and Celibacy..... 213
Marriage and Location of Preachers..... 214
Asbury's Character 214
His Influence over the Higher Classes 215
Mary Wilmer 217
Mary Wallace..... 218
Mrs. Baker 219
Mary White 220
Sketch of Judge White's Family 224
Mrs. Senator Bassett 228
Services of her Family to Methodism 229
Bohemia Manor..... 229
Mary Ennalls..... 231
Methodism in Dorchester County, Maryland 230
Garrettson Imprisoned 234
Prudence Gough..... 235
Life at Perry Hall..... 235
Sophia Gough..... 243
Asbury's Female Friends in Baltimore..... 246
Mrs. Moore..... 246
Mrs. Owings..... 247
Mrs. Triplett 247
Page
Rachel Hulings..... 247
Mrs. Chamier..... 248
Martha F. Allison..... 248
Eleanor Dorsey..... 248
Extraordinary Example..... 250
Asbury among the Holston Mountains..... 252
First Conference beyond the Alleghanies..... 252
Mrs. General Russell..... 253

CHAPTER III.

LATER WOMEN OF AMERICAN METHODISM.

Review..... 256
Catharine Livingston, Mrs. Garrettson..... 257
The Connecting Link between the early and late Women of Methodist History..... 257
The Garrettson Homestead... 257
Its Scenery 258
Freeborn Garrettson..... 259
Catharine Garrettson's Social Position 261
Sketch of her Life 261
President Olin's Estimate of her Character..... 265
The "House Warming"..... 267
"Traveler's Rest"..... 268
Asbury resting there..... 268
Its Relics..... 270
Asbury among the Livingstons 271
Death of Madame Livingston. 272
Catherine Suckley..... 272
Relics of Asbury..... 272
Her Character and Death..... 273
Ann Wilkins, a type of Female Missionary Character..... 275
Her Life..... 276
Her Self-sacrifice..... 277
Her Blessed Death..... 279
Eliza Garrett, a Model of Female Liberality..... 281
The Garrett Biblical Institute. 285
Its Prompt Establishment.... 289
Its Extensive Patronage..... 291
Its Early Fruits..... 291
Its Promise for the Future.... 292
A Prominent Object of Connectional Centenary Effort.. 292
Heck Hall 293
Conclusion..... 293
Responsibilities of Women for the Present and future..... 294

APPENDIX.

Page

SKETCH OF THE AMERICAN LADIES' CENTENARY MOVEMENT.

Origin 295
Primary Design 296
Enlargement of Plan 297
Connectional Character 297
Relations of the Connectional Fund to Female Education. 298

PLANS OF OPERATION.

Membership, etc 298
Certificates 299
Branch and Auxiliary Associations 299
Individual and Congregational Action 299
Ladies' Centenary Volume 300
Accounts 300
Funds—Reports 300
Final Word 301

EXTRACT OF AN ADDRESS BY REV. C. H. FOWLER.

Members of the Centenary Committees 304
General Treasurers of Centenary Funds 304
Officers of the Ladies' Association and its Branches 304
Life Members etc 304

WOMEN OF METHODISM.

INTRODUCTION.

Women in Church History — Their Peculiar Activity in Methodism — Wesley organized Female Activity in Religion — Wesley and Women — Character of his Female Correspondence — His Appreciation of Woman — Her Honorable Place in Methodism.

THE agency of women in religion has formed some of the most interesting, if not some of the most salient, facts of ecclesiastical history. Mary, Elizabeth, and Anna, historic figures in the scenes of the advent and childhood of the Messiah; Mary and Martha of Bethany, the Magdalene, and Joanna, "the wife of Herod's steward," and "Susanna, and many others which ministered unto" Christ "of their substance;" Phœbe, the Deaconess, of Cenchrea, "a succorer of many and myself also," says Paul; Damaris, his convert in the Areopagus; the four prophetesses, daughters of "Philip the Evangelist" of Cesarea; Lydia, of Thyatira; Priscilla, who, Paul says, had "for my life laid down her own neck," "unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the

Churches of the Gentiles," and in whose house was sustained the infant Church of Rome; Junia, who with her husband was Paul's "fellow-prisoner," and "of note among the apostles;" Tryphena and Tryphosa, "who labored in the Lord," and Persis, "which labored *much* in the Lord;" Dorcas, and the "elect lady" of St. John, with others, are revealed to us in mere glimpses of the sacred history, but sufficiently to give to the record some of its most genial traits, and to prefigure that effective and exalted position, ecclesiastical and social, which Christianity was about to assign to their sex, and which has had so momentous an influence on European civilization that the greatest historical philosopher of our age has deemed it necessary, in an elaborate vindication of Christianity, to devote a chapter to "Christ and Women." With the development of the Church followed also the development of the dignity and activity of woman. Its post-apostolic periods are studded with illustrious female names; that of Helena is forever associated, in ecclesiastical history, with Constantine, that of Monica with Augustine, Eusebia with Gregory of Nissa, Paula with Jerome, Marcella with Athanasius; and great cities and states have been proud to identify saintly women with their own history: saints Cecilia, Genevieve, Theresa, Elizabeth.

It may be doubted whether any section of ecclesi-

astical history since Mary, "the mother of Jesus," is richer in female characters than that which records the "Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism." Years elapsed before that movement took the form of distinct sects; and even after its ecclesiastical unity was somewhat broken, its moral unity was still maintained down to about the end of the century. It pervaded and revived the nonconformity of England, enlisting in the ranks of Calvinistic Methodism not a few of the leading dissenting ministers of the kingdom. It influenced considerably the Established Church, drawing some of its best clergy into co-operation with Calvinistic or Arminian Methodism, according to their theological predilections; while it roused, chiefly as Arminian or Wesleyan Methodism, the great mass of the degraded population, and was initiated by a woman — Barbara Heck — in its unparalleled career among the mixed population of America. Calvinistic Methodism was founded by the Countess of Huntingdon, in co-operation with Whitefield, and mostly controlled by her; and with her were associated some of the most notable women of the aristocracy of the day. Wesleyan Methodism was, however, to have the chief honor of developing female activity in the Methodistic movement. Wesley's legislative genius, equal, as Macaulay affirms, to that of Richelieu, provided effective occasions for the influence

and talents of females. He introduced into his system the stated Prayer-Meeting, the weekly Class-Meeting and Band-Meeting, and the Agapa of the Moravians and the ancient Church. His strict prejudices as a Churchman could hardly interfere with the participation of prudent and devout women in these select and social services. Many remarkable examples of female talent came under his attention on these occasions, and he could not consent that such talents should be repressed or hid "in a napkin." It was not long before he appointed women as official leaders of female Classes and Bands. He thus organized the agency of women in the Church. Their impressive exhortations in prayer-meetings, comprising both sexes, became generally recognized as proofs of remarkable means of usefulness with which the new cause was providentially endowed. The "circuit system" of the ministry gave intimate relations to societies scattered over one or two hundred miles; they all had the same two or three pastors; their ecclesiastical business was transacted as a common interest; they were almost as one society, so that not only active laymen but active women, in any one "preaching appointment," were generally known throughout the circuit; the latter, therefore, as well as the former, went often on religious visitations from place to place over large districts of the country. Some of these women, like Mary Fletcher,

Hester Ann Rogers, Ann Crosby, Sarah Ryan, and Grace Murray, addressed large assemblies, irresistibly attracted by their modest eloquence. Wesley at last recognized them, not as preachers, but as following the example of the apostolic "Deaconesses" and "Prophetesses." He counseled and regulated their labors, as we shall see; and there is hardly a recorded intimation of any unseemly consequence of this very extraordinary innovation.

Wesleyan Methodism was virtually founded by Susanna Wesley. Wesley's education, by his remarkable mother, had impressed him with the highest idea of Christian womanhood. The genial associations of his early home at Epworth, sanctified by the affections and ennobled by the intelligence of his talented sisters, could not fail to incline him to a just appreciation of woman. There was also, perhaps, inherent in the very constitution of his rare mind, a refined and feminine delicacy, which instinctively sympathized with whatever was virtuous or elevated in the sex. His female friendships form a most interesting feature in his extraordinary history; women and children everywhere spontaneously confided themselves to the benign and magical charm of his influence, receiving his word as that of a divine prophet or a beloved father. The greater portion of his printed correspondence was with females, and it is pervaded by

the most tender, pure, yet fervent sentiment. Many of these friendships were formed when he was in advanced years, but while his correspondents were yet in the bloom and sensitive tenderness of their young maidenhood: he addressed them as his daughters, they revered and loved him as their father and guide; and his long life enabled him to continue the correspondence when many of them were venerable, not only with years, but with virtues and services. Mary Fletcher, Hester Ann Rogers, Ann Ritchie, Grace Murray, Lady Maxwell, Lady Fitzgerald, survived him. Two of them ministered at his dying bed, and all mourned his death as that of a beloved parent.

While few things, perhaps nothing, could more completely and more gracefully exhibit the intimate or interior life of primitive Methodism than a thorough record of Wesley's friendships and correspondence with women, and their agency in the Methodistic revival, scarcely anything could better illustrate the excellence of his own character. A distinguished contemporary, an ardent Churchman, who knew him well,* addressed to Robert Southey an elaborate letter on the character of Wesley, treating particularly of his relation to his female associates.† This

* Alexander Knox, Esq., Secretary to Lord Castlereagh in Ireland. Knox's private letters to Bishop Jebb make some important vindications of Methodism. Jebb's "Thirty Years' Correspondence," etc.

† This letter is given in the Appendix to the last volume of Southey's Life of Wesley.

testimony is too important to be omitted here, notwithstanding its length. "Mr. Southey," he says, "will agree with me that the characteristic openness which marks all Mr. Wesley's letters, and makes them be felt as a disclosure of his very mind and heart, is never more conspicuous than when he is writing to his friends of the female sex. It is certain that Mr. Wesley had a predilection for the female character; partly, because he had a mind ever alive to amiability, and partly from his generally finding in females a quicker and fuller responsiveness to his own ideas of interior piety and affectionate devotion. To his female correspondents, therefore, (as it strikes me,) he writes with peculiar effluence of thought and frankness of communication. He, in fact, unbosoms himself on every topic which occurs to him, as to kindred spirits, in whose sympathies he confided, and from whose recommunications he hoped for additional light on those internal concerns which were ever uppermost in his mind and nearest to his heart. Accordingly, in these prompt effusions all Mr. Wesley's peculiarities are in fullest display. On the closest examination, no sentiment, no inclination, will be found to reflect the slightest shade on Mr. Wesley's moral principles or feelings. Whatever mixtures there may be of speculative error or injudicious guidance, the ultimate object is uniformly pure and excellent; be the prescribed means

of advancement what they may, the point aimed at is consummate virtue in every temper and in every action. I must add that the character of the letters is uniform; they are in the strictest harmony with each other, and, indeed, with everything else which proceeded from him. It is the same John Wesley, whether he addresses individuals or addresses thousands; expressing his quick conceptions with an unsuspecting frankness, as if there were not a thought in his mind which he wished to conceal, and as if he had no wish whatever, except for the spiritual good of those who sought his instruction. He so literally *talks* upon paper as to make it inconceivable that he should have conversed with them in any other style than that in which he wrote to them; and while he is unreservedly and ardently the friend of all to whom he writes, the flow of his affection is so pure and so paternal as to exclude the possibility of imagining that its simplicity could ever have been marred by the shadow of an opposite mixture. Such, I think, would be the impression on my mind, solely from the letters themselves; but when I read them with that decisive comment which my own recollections afford, I feel with a certainty, which mathematical demonstration could not exceed, that never for one moment was the evidence of those letters falsified, or their spirit departed from, in the actual intercourse of Mr. Wesley's life, in whatever circumstances he

might have been placed, or into whatever society he might have been thrown. It continually appears, from Mr. Wesley's mode of writing, that his female disciples consulted him as one to whom they ascribed the spirit as well as the wisdom of an apostle. The subjects treated of establish this fact, and present, as it were, the reflected image of as unqualified a confidence as could be placed in a human being. We have, then, virtually, in these letters the great body of Mr. Wesley's female friends bearing to his character the most unimpeachable as well as the most concordant witness. And let it be remembered that this evidence is given on the fullest knowledge; as, from Mr. Wesley's constant itinerancy, his friends had ever-recurring opportunities of observing him, in every point of view and in all possible conjunctures. It is also obvious that Mr. Wesley's female correspondents were sincerely pious, and that the species of piety which influenced them, however chargeable with weakness, is perfectly opposite to every kind of moral laxity. Their respect and veneration, therefore, for Mr. Wesley is a conclusive evidence of his uniform rectitude of conduct; for had there been any variation in this respect, it must have been observed by some or other of those intimate female friends; and had such a discovery, at any time or in any instance, been made, esteem and veneration would instantly have been changed into horror and detest-

ation. I can, besides, say, from my own knowledge, that some of Mr. Wesley's female friends possessed acute discernment and solid understanding. On the whole, is it not obvious that, in the intimate intercourse which Mr. Wesley had for so many years with them, and countless other females of similar character, continued, uniform imposition was impossible, and that the argument hence arising in support of Mr. Wesley's perfect moral consistency is irrefragable? Whatever may have been the defects or excesses of Wesleyan Methodism, it has certainly been the most moral of all similar associations; and the ruling claim which held so many thousands in adherence to a standard so much above their original frame of mind and habits of life, was the exemplary virtue of their leader. Any deviation, therefore, from that standard in Mr. Wesley would have been as astounding to his followers as the fall from heaven of a star of the first magnitude. But I can assert, from my own knowledge, that the minds of Mr. Wesley's people never were disturbed by such a thought. For the last five-and-twenty years of his life I was acquainted with everything material which concerned him or them; and nothing which was or had been reported respecting him could have escaped my cognizance. Yet never, I can aver, was his fair fame sullied by the slightest breath of suspicion; and no intimation ever reached my ears which did

not either give witness to, or accord with, his immaculate integrity. It will hardly be denied that, even in this frail and corrupted world, we sometimes meet persons who, in their very mien and aspect, as well as in the whole habit of life, manifest such a stamp and signature of virtue as to make our judgment of them a matter of intuition rather than a result of continued examination. I never met a human being who came more perfectly within this description than John Wesley. It was impossible to converse with him, I might say to look at him, without being persuaded, not only that his heart and mind were animated with the purest and most exalted goodness, but that the instinctive bent of his nature accorded so congenially with his Christian principles as to give a pledge for his practical consistency in which it was impossible not to place confidence. It would be far too little to say that it was impossible to suspect him of any moral taint; for it was obvious that every movement bespoke as perfect a contrariety to all that was earthly or animal as could be imagined in a mortal being. His countenance, as well as conversation, expressed an habitual gayety of heart, which nothing but conscious virtue and innocence could have bestowed. He was, in truth, the most perfect specimen of moral happiness whom I ever saw; and my acquaintance with him has done more to teach me what a heaven upon earth is implied in

the maturity of Christian piety, than all I have elsewhere seen, or heard, or read, except in the sacred volume."

Wesley's refined sensibility to the influence of woman was too vivid not to have inclined him to marriage, and to the felicities of a Christian home. As early as his residence in Georgia he contracted a matrimonial engagement, which was broken off by the persuasion of his Moravian associates, who doubted the moral fitness of the lady to be the companion of such a man. The slanderous gossip respecting this first "romance" of his life has long since been silenced by a conclusive refutation, and needs no further attention. In 1748, when forty-five years old, he contracted another engagement with Mrs. Grace Murray, who was then thirty-three years of age, and, as we shall hereafter see, was worthy of his best regard. It was defeated by the interference of his brother, Charles Wesley, and Whitefield. The accounts of this case show that it was one of genuine love, as well as of genuine esteem. "I clearly perceived," he says, "that I had never before had so strong an affection for any person under heaven."*

* "Narrative of a Remarkable Transaction in the early Life of John Wesley," etc., from a MS. in the British Museum, numbered 7,119. This curious paper has been twice published. It is not in Wesley's handwriting, but professes to be a copy from his original account of the affair; a poem at the end (long before given to the public by his biographer, Henry Moore) is in his penmanship. The poem substan-

This romantic episode in the life of the great Founder has been variously represented; but every authenticated fact about it reflects most favorably on his heart and conduct, as we shall have occasion to show. It is one of the best exemplifications of Alexander Knox's estimate of the man. I have therefore treated it somewhat amply in the sketch of Grace Murray, giving details never before published in this country. His subsequent marriage, by the advice of his friend Perronet, the venerable vicar of Shoreham, became the greatest affliction of his life.

Wesley's incorporation of female agency in his practical system has been one of the most effective causes of the surprising success of Methodism. Its history presents a long list of women whose names have become household words in the families of the denomination, and whose memories the Church will never let die. They rank from the higher circles of life, in which were Susanna Wesley, (related to the Earls of Anglesea,) Selina, Countess of Huntingdon,

tially agrees with the main facts of the prose narrative. I have no doubt that Wesley wrote a similar document, but I have no doubt also that this is an interpolated copy of it. The document, as a whole, does not reflect unfavorably on his moral character, but shows some whimsicalities and weaknesses. It is doubtless a copy of one of those papers which Wesley's wife, Mrs. Vizelle, carried away from him and notoriously interpolated. The fact that the poem is autographic, while the narrative is copied, confirms the suspicion. It was left to the Museum by a son of Mrs. Vizelle. See the sketch of Grace Murray in this volume.

(remotely connected with the royalty of England,) Lady Fitzgerald, (of the British Court,) Lady Maxwell, Lady Glenorchy, and others, down to the humble but saintly Hester Ann Rogers, Dinah Evans, the heroine of one of the ablest of English fictions, the Dairyman's Daughter, a name dear to Christian households in all lands, and Barbara Heck, the obscure foundress of American Methodism, venerated throughout a continent. Wesley still lives in the ever-living influence of these "devout women," and through them may yet be verified, to no small extent, the prediction of his most popular, but least partial, biographer, who has said, "I consider him as the most influential mind of the last century—the man who will have produced the greatest effects centuries, or perhaps millenniums, hence, if the present race of men should continue so long."* Methodism still admits the Christian activity of woman; in no religious body, not even that of Quakerism, have her powers more ample scope, and in no other does she accomplish more direct or more important results.

* Robert Southey, Wilberforce's Correspondence, ii, 388.

WOMEN OF METHODISM.

PART I.

SUSANNA WESLEY AND WESLEYAN METHODISM.

CHAPTER I.

SUSANNA WESLEY.

State of Religion in England in the last Century — Epworth Rectory — Susanna Wesley — Her early Life and Character — Her Beauty — Her Husband, Samuel Wesley — Life in the Rectory — Its Children — Its singular Domestic System — Adam Clarke's Opinion of the Family — Mrs. Wesley's Religious Habits — The Rectory the Cradle of Methodism — Domestic Trials — Mrs. Wesley's Influence upon John Wesley and Methodism — Her Death — Results of her Agency in the Religious World — Present Extent of Methodism.

THE agency of woman, in "The Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism," began at the very beginning of that important movement, and even prior to its formal initiation. At a period in the history of England when Burnett, Watts, and Butler were mourning over the decay of religion — the first declaring that "imminent ruin was hanging over" the Anglican Church, "and by consequence

over the whole Reformation;" the second that "religion was dying in the world;" the third that "it had come to be taken for granted that Christianity is no longer a subject of inquiry, but is at length discovered to be fictitious"—Divine Providence was providing, chiefly through the domestic piety of a woman, for that resuscitation of spiritual life and apostolic propagandism which has ever since characterized most of the Protestant world. At this very time the principal agents of Methodism were in obscure preparation in the village of Epworth, a rural community of Lincolnshire, with a population of about two thousand souls, occupied in the cultivation of hemp and flax. In the household of the Epworth Rectory can be traced its real origin, amid one of those pictures of English rustic life which have so often given a charm to our literature, and which form, perhaps, the best example of the domestic virtues of religion that Christian civilization has afforded. Susanna Wesley there trained the founder and legislator of Methodism, and to no inconsiderable degree by impressing on him the traits of her own extraordinary character; and, under the same nurture, grew up by his side its psalmist, whose lyrics were to be heard, in less than a century, wherever the English language was spoken, and to be "more devoutly committed to memory," says Southey, and "oftener repeated upon a death-bed," than any other poems.

The mother of the Wesleys was the mother of Methodism, says Isaac Taylor, who has given us the philosophy of its history, and she properly belongs to the foreground of our record. She was "nobly related," being the daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley, who was the son of a brother of the Earl of Anglesea. She inherited from her father those energetic traits of character which she transmitted to her most distinguished child. He accorded to his daughter the independence of opinion which he claimed for himself, and while yet under his roof, and not thirteen years old, she showed her hereditary spirit by examining the whole controversy between Churchmen and Dissenters, and by renouncing, in favor of the Established Church, the opinions to which her father had devoted a life of labor and suffering. The fact is characteristic; and judging from the evidence of her later history, she possessed, even at this early age, an unusual fitness for such an investigation. Devout, thoughtful, amiable, and beautiful, she was the favorite child of her father, and the change of her opinions produced no interruption of the affectionate ties which had bound them together.

She was married to Rev. Samuel Wesley about 1689, when nineteen or twenty years of age. She had been thoroughly educated, and was acquainted with the Latin, Greek, and French languages. She

showed a discriminative judgment of books and men, and, without any unique trait of genius, presents, perhaps, one of the completest characters, moral and intellectual, to be found in the history of her sex. She has left us no proof of poetical talent, and the genius of her children, in this respect, seems to have been inherited from their father, whose passionate love of the art, and unwearied attempts at rhythm, if not poetry, may also account for the hereditary talent of the family in music. Her features were slight, but almost classical in their regularity. They were thoroughly Wesleyan, affording proof that John Wesley inherited from his mother not only his best moral and intellectual traits, but those of his physiognomy. They have also an air of that high-bred aristocracy from which she was descended. Adam Clarke, whose domestic fondness shows him to have been no inapt judge, says she was not only graceful, but beautiful. Sir Peter Lely, the painter of the "Beauties" of his age, has left a portrait of one of her sisters, who was pronounced a woman of rare charms. "One," says Clarke, "who well knew them both, said, beautiful as Miss Annesley appears, she was far from being as beautiful as Mrs. Wesley."*

* In the "History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism," is given a supposed portrait of Susanna Wesley; it appeared first, in America, in "The Ladies' Repository," as genuine, and obtained in England, and the author of the "History" accepted it on this authority. Mr. Kirk (in "The Mother of the

The learned commentator lingers with heartiest admiration before her image. He assures us that he could not repress his tears while contemplating her Christian and womanly virtues, and her more than manly struggles with adversity. "Such a woman," he says, "take her for all in all, I have not heard of, I have not read of, nor with her equal have I been acquainted. Such a one Solomon has described in the last chapter of his Proverbs; and to her I can apply the summed-up character of his accomplished housewife: Many daughters have done virtuously, but Susanna Wesley has excelled them all." In his comment on Solomon's sketch of the Jewish matron, he again refers to the lady of Epworth rectory as the best exemplification he knew of the scriptural portrait.

An exact balance of faculties was the chief characteristic of her intellect. With this she combined a profound piety. Her early interest in the Nonconformist controversy shows that from her childhood,

Wesleys") rejects it, but without stating his reasons. If the latter are not more plausible than his criticisms on the Wesleyan resemblance of the portrait, they can hardly be acceptable to good judges. A comparison of the portrait with that of John Wesley, in the same "History," cannot fail to show a striking similarity in almost every detail. It is doubtless the portrait of a lady of the Annesley or of the Wesleyan family, if not of Susanna Wesley herself. Mr. Kirk substitutes a portrait of the latter taken "in extreme old age"—one of those deformities which should never disgrace a book, however valued on the household walls.

religion, even in some of its intricate questions, had engaged her thoughts. Her heathful common sense is manifest in all her allusions to the subject. Her womanly but practical mind never fell into Mysticism; and when her sons were wavering under its influence at Oxford, her letters continually recalled them to wholesome and scriptural sentiments. "I take Kempis," she wrote to John, when he was poring over the pages of the "Imitation," "I take Kempis to have been an honest, weak man, who had more zeal than knowledge, by his condemning all mirth or pleasure as sinful or useless, in opposition to so many direct and plain texts of Scripture." And again she wrote: "Let every one enjoy the present hour. Age and successive troubles are sufficient to convince any man that it is a much wiser and safer way to deprecate great afflictions than to pray for them, and that our Lord knew what was in man when he directed us to pray, 'Lead us not into temptation.' I think heretic Clarke, in his exposition on the Lord's Prayer, is more in the right than Castaniza, concerning temptations."

With unusual sobriety on religious subjects, she united a cheerful confidence in her own religious hopes. She consecrated an hour every morning and evening to entire seclusion for meditation and prayer; her reflections at these times were often recorded, and present the happiest blending of good sense and

religious fervor. "If," she exclaims in one of her evening meditations, "if comparatively to despise and undervalue all the world contains, which is esteemed great, fair, or good; if earnestly and constantly to desire Thee — thy favor, thy acceptance, thyself — rather than any or all things thou hast created, be to love thee — I do love thee."

Her independent habit of thinking led her early to Socinian opinions, but they were abandoned after matured investigation. Her letters are marked not only by just, but often by profound, thought. She projected several literary works, and a fragment which remains, on the "Apostles' Creed," would not have been discreditable to the theological literature of her day. She had begun a work on Natural and Revealed Religion, comprising her reasons for renouncing Dissent, and a discourse on the Eucharist; but both were destroyed by a fire which consumed the rectory.

Her husband, Samuel Wesley, was born at Whitchurch in 1662, and was her senior by seven years. His character was contrasted in important respects with her own; but he shared fully her conscientious independence of opinion on religious questions. With him, as with her, this seems to have been an hereditary trait, and was transmitted by both to their children. After a brief residence in London we find him in the curacy of South Ormsby, near Epworth,

with fifty pounds a year. Here his family increased to six children; but, with genuine English paternity, he welcomed each addition as a gift from God, and struggled manfully to provide bread for every new comer. He says, in a letter to the Archbishop of York, that he had but fifty pounds a year for six or seven years together, and one child, at least, per annum. The parish had been obtained for him by the Marquis of Normanby; a characteristic instance of conduct led to its resignation. This nobleman, says John Wesley, had a house in the parish where a woman who lived with him usually resided; she insisted on being intimate with Mrs. Wesley, but to such an intercourse the rector would not submit. Coming in one day, and finding the intrusive visitant sitting with his wife, he went up to her, took her by the hand, and unceremoniously led her out. The nobleman resented the affront, and made it necessary for Wesley to retire from the living. The dedication of one of his works to Queen Mary procured him the rectory of Epworth, where, on two hundred pounds a year, and the proceeds of his literary labors, he sustained and educated his numerous family, amounting at last to nineteen children.

He did not disguise his High Church and State principles, and his imprudent political zeal involved him in serious persecutions. Besides the injuring of his cattle, and the burning of his house, the

rabble drummed, shouted, and fired arms under his windows at night. Under the pretense of a small debt which he could not at the moment discharge, he was arrested while leaving his church, and imprisoned in Lincoln Castle, where he continued about three months. But his native spirit never failed him. "Now I am at rest," he wrote from the prison to the Archbishop of York, "for I am come to the haven where I long expected to be; and," he characteristically adds, "I don't despair of doing good here, and, it may be, more in this new parish than in my old one." Like Goldsmith's good vicar, he immediately became a volunteer chaplain to his fellow-prisoners. He read prayers daily, and preached on Sundays to them. He was consoled by the fortitude of his noble wife. "'Tis not every one," he wrote again to the archbishop, "who could bear these things; but I bless God, my wife is less concerned with suffering them than I am in writing, or than I believe your Grace will be in reading them." "When I came here," he said in another letter, "my stock was but little above ten shillings, and my wife's at home scarce so much. She soon sent me her rings, because she had nothing else to relieve me with, but I returned them." When advised to remove from Epworth, on account of his persecutions, he replied in an answer which reminds us of his son, when hooted by later mobs in his itin-

crant preaching: "'Tis like a coward to desert my post because the enemy fires thick upon me. They have only wounded me yet, and I believe cannot kill me."

The glimpses which we get from contemporary records of the interior life at the rectory of Epworth, give us the image of an almost perfect Christian household. If some of its aspects appear at times too grave, or even severe, they are relieved by frequent evidence of those home affections and gayeties with which the beneficent instincts of human nature are sure to resist, in a numerous circle of children, the religious austerities of advanced life. The Epworth rectory presents, in fine, the picture of a domestic Church, a family school, and a genuine old English household. Before the first fire the building was a humble structure of wood and plaster, roofed with thatch, and venerable with a hundred years. It boasted one parlor, an ample hall, a buttery, three large upper chambers, besides some smaller apartments, and a study, where the studious rector passed most of his time in "beating rhymes" and preparing his sermons, leaving the rest of the house and almost all indoor affairs, as well as the management of the temporalities of the glebe and tithes, to his more capable wife, and fondly comforting himself, against the pinching embarrassments of poverty, with the consolation, as he

expresses it in a letter to the Archbishop of York, "that he who is born a poet must, I am afraid, live and die so, that is, poor." John Wesley expresses admiration at the serenity with which his mother transacted business, wrote letters, and conversed, surrounded by thirteen children. All the children bore "nicknames" in the home circle, and the familiar pseudonyms play fondly through the abundant correspondence which remains. Clarke assures us that "they had the common fame of being the most loving family in the county of Lincoln." The mother especially was the center of the household affections. John, after leaving home for his education, wrote to her, at a time when her health was precarious, with pathetic endearment, and expressed the hope that he might die before her, in order to escape the anguish of witnessing her end. "You did well," she afterward wrote him, "to correct that fond desire of dying before me, since you do not know what work God may have for you to do before you leave the world. It is what I have often desired of the children, that they would not weep at my parting, and so make death more uncomfortable than it would otherwise be to me." The home where such sentiments prevailed could not be an austere one.

The children all shared this filial tenderness for the mother. Martha (afterward Mrs. Hall) clung

to her with a sort of idolatry. She would never willingly be from her side, says Clarke; and the only fault alleged against the parent was her fond partiality for this affectionate daughter. Several of the nineteen children died young; but according to the allusion of John Wesley, already cited, thirteen were living at one time. Some of them were remarkable for beauty, others for wit and intelligence. Samuel, the eldest son, was poetic from his childhood, and has left some of the finest hymns of the Methodist psalmody. Susanna (afterward Mrs. Ellison) is described as "being facetious and a little romantic;" Mary, though somewhat deformed, as "having an exquisitely beautiful face — a legible index to a mind almost angelic," and "one of the most exalted of human characters, full of humility and goodness;" Mehetabel (Mrs. Wright,) as able in her eighth year to read the Greek language, and as "gay, sprightly, full of mirth, good humor, and wit, and attracting many suitors," and, in later life, an elegant woman "with great refinement of manners, and the traces of beauty in her countenance." She had also an uncommon poetic talent. The few letters of Keziah that remain show vivacity and vigorous sense. Charles and John gave distinct promise, even in the nursery, of their coming greatness. The natural temper of the latter, in youth, is described as "gay, with a turn for wit and

humor." The former was exceedingly sprightly and active, and so remarkable for courage and skill in juvenile encounters that he afterward obtained, at Westminster, the title of "Captain of the school." Still later he laments that he lost his first year at Oxford in diversions. Martha, who lived to be the last survivor of the original Wesley family, though habitually sober, if not sad, amid the pastimes of the home circle, had "an innate horror of melancholy subjects." Her memory was remarkable, and was abundantly stored with the results of her studies, especially in history and poetry. Her good sense and intelligence delighted Johnson in discussions of theology and moral philosophy.* Of wit, she used to say, that she was the only one of the family who did not possess it. Her brother Charles remarked that she was "too wise to be witty."

Though method prevailed throughout the household, its almost mechanical rigor was relaxed at suitable intervals, in which the nursery, with its large juvenile community, became an arena of hilarious recreations, of "high glee and frolic." Games of skill, and of chance even, were among the family pastimes, such as John Wesley afterward prohibited among the Methodists. While the rectory was rattling with the "mysterious noises," so famous in the

* Johnson tried to induce her to reside in his hospitable but motley family in Bolt Court. Boswell mentions her often.

family history, we find the courageous daughters "playing at the game of cards." The educational system at the rectory has been the admiration of all who have written respecting the Wesley family. It had some extraordinary points. It was conducted solely by Mrs. Wesley, who thus combined the labors of a school with the other and numerous cares of her household. She has left a long letter addressed to John Wesley, in which it is fully detailed. "The children," she says, "were always put into a regular method of living, in such things as they were capable of, from their birth; as in dressing and undressing, changing their linen, etc. The first quarter commonly passes in sleep; after that they were, if possible, laid in their cradle awake, and rocked to sleep; and so they were kept rocking until it was time for them to awake. This was done to bring them to a regular course of sleeping, which at first was three hours in the morning, and three in the afternoon; afterward two hours, till they needed none at all." When one year old, and in some cases earlier, they were taught to "cry softly," by which means they escaped abundance of correction, and that "most odious noise" of the crying of children was rarely heard in the house; but the family usually lived in as much quietness as if there had not been a child among them. Drinking and eating between meals was never allowed, unless in

cases of sickness, which "seldom happened." They retired at eight in the evening, and were "left in their several rooms awake, for there was no such thing allowed in the house as sitting by a child till it fell asleep." To subdue the will of the child was one of her earliest tasks, "because," she continues, "this is the only strong and rational foundation of a religious education, without which both precept and example will be ineffectual. But when this is thoroughly done, then a child is capable of being governed by the reason and piety of its parents till its own understanding comes to maturity, and the principles of religion have taken root in the mind." Her children were taught to be quiet at family prayer, and to ask a blessing immediately after, by signs, before they could kneel or speak.

The family school was opened and closed with singing; at five o'clock in the afternoon all had a season of retirement, when the oldest took the youngest that could speak, and the second the next, to whom they read the psalm for the day, and a chapter in the New Testament. She herself also conversed, each evening, with one of her children, on religious subjects, and on some evenings with two, so as to comprehend the whole circle every week. Cowardice and fear of punishment, she remarks, often lead children to contract a habit of lying, from which it is difficult for them to break

away in later life. To prevent this, a law was made that whoever was charged with a fault, of which he was guilty, should not be chastised if he would ingenuously confess it, and promise to amend. No child was ever punished twice for the same fault; and if he reformed, the offense was never afterward upbraided. Promises were to be strictly observed. No girl was taught to work till she read correctly; she was then kept to her work with the same application, and for the same time that she had spent in reading. "This rule," wisely remarks the mother, "is much to be observed; for the putting children to learn sewing before they can read perfectly, is the very reason why so few women can read in a manner fit to be heard." None of them were taught to read till they were five years old, except one daughter, and she was more years in learning than any of the rest had been months. The day before a child began to study, the house was set in order, every one's work appointed, and a charge given that none should come into the room from nine to twelve, and from two till five, which were the school hours. One day was allowed the pupil to learn its letters, and each of them did in that time know them all, except two, who were a day and a half at the task, "for which," she says, "I then thought them very dull." Samuel, who was the first child thus taught, learned the alphabet in a

few hours. The day after he was five years old he began to study, and as soon as he knew the letters he proceeded to spell out the first chapter of Genesis. The same method was observed by them all. As soon as they acquired the knowledge of the alphabet they were put to spelling and reading one line, then a verse, never leaving it till perfect in the appointed lesson, were it shorter or longer.

Such was the family school at Epworth. Who can doubt that the practical Methodism of the rectory, more than any other human cause, produced the ecclesiastical Methodism which to-day is spreading the Wesleyan name around the world? It received there, also, much of its thoroughly spiritual tone. Religion impressed the habitual life of the family. Susanna Wesley was its priestess, and, more than the rector himself, ministered to its spiritual necessities. During his absence she even opened its doors for a sort of public worship, which was conducted by herself. She read sermons, prayed, and conversed with the rustic assembly. Her husband, learning the fact by her letters, revolted, as a Churchman, from its novelty. Her self-defense is characteristically earnest, but submissive to his authority. She states that the measure was reclaiming many of the common people from immorality; that it was filling up the parish church; that some who had not attended the latter for years were

now seen there. She prays him to relieve her from the responsibility of ending these useful services by assuming it himself, as her husband and pastor. Isaac Taylor justly remarks, that, when in this characteristic letter she said, "Do not advise, but command me to desist!" she was bringing to its place a corner-stone of the future Methodism. "In this emphatic expression of a deep compound feeling, a powerful conscientious impulse, and a fixed principle of submission to rightful authority, there was condensed the very law of her son's course, as the founder and legislator of a sect. This equipoise of forces, which, if they act apart, and when not thus balanced, have brought to nothing so many hopeful movements, gave that consistency to Methodism to which it owes its permanency."

Thus did this truly English and Christian household pursue its course of self-culture. For more than forty years it rendered Epworth rectory a sanctuary of domestic and Christian virtues. Ten of the children attained adult years. All these became devoted Christians, and every one of them "died in the Lord." "How powerful," remarks their biographer, Adam Clarke, in ending his almost romantic record, "is a religious education; and how true the saying, 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.'" "Such a family," he adds, "I have

never read of, heard of, or known; nor since the days of Abraham and Sarah, and Joseph and Mary of Nazareth, has there ever been a family to which the human race has been more indebted."

Let us not suppose, however, that in this rare picture of Christian domestic life there were no shadows contrasted with its tranquil lights. It would have been less perfect without them. Samuel Wesley lived in continual conflict with poverty. He was imprisoned for debt, and died in debt. His Epworth living, though nominally valued at £200, afforded but about £130; and his small adjacent parish of Wroote scarcely more than met its own expenses. The economy by which so large a family was so well sustained and educated is one of the most remarkable facts in its history. Pressed on every side by want, suffering sometimes from severe destitution, as she has recorded in a letter to the Archbishop of York, the admirable matron of the rectory could nevertheless say, when more than fifty years old, that from the best observations she had been able to make, she had learned it was much easier to be contented without riches than with them. Keener sorrows were often added to their poverty. Death followed death until nine children had been borne away from the circle. The marriages of several of the daughters were unfortunate, and the noble mother, in a letter to her brother, writes with the

anguish which only a mother can know, for the saddest sorrow of a child: "O sir! O brother! happy, thrice happy are you; happy is my sister that buried your children in infancy, secure from temptation, secure from guilt, secure from want or shame, secure from the loss of friends. Believe me, it is better to mourn ten children dead than one living, and I have buried many."

Twice was the rectory fired at night by the rabble of the parish. In the first instance it was partly consumed, in the second it was totally destroyed, together with its furniture, and the books and manuscripts of the rector. The family barely escaped in their night garments. Mrs. Wesley was in feeble health; unable to climb with the rest through the windows, she was thrice beaten back from the front door by the flames. Committing herself to God, she at last waded through the fire to the street, scorching her face and hands. One child was missing. The father attempted several times to pass up the stairs to rescue him, but the consuming steps could not bear his weight. He returned in despair, and kneeling down upon the earth, resigned to God the soul of his child. Meanwhile the latter waking from his sleep, and finding his chamber and bed on fire, flew to the window, beneath which two peasants placed themselves, one on the shoulders of the other, and saved him at the

moment that the roof fell in and crushed the chamber to the ground. "Come, neighbors," exclaimed the father, as he received his son, "let us kneel down; let us give thanks unto God; he has given me all my eight children; let the house go, I am rich enough." Hundreds of thousands of devout hearts have since repeated that thanksgiving. A few minutes more and the founder of Methodism would have been lost to the world. In about a quarter of a century the rescued boy went forth from the cloisters of Oxford to Moorfields, to call the neglected masses to repentance, and to begin the great work which has rendered his family historical, not only in his own country, but in all Protestant Christendom.

It would be interesting to trace the influence of their mother on the two Wesleys as affecting the origin of Methodism, but our space will admit of mere allusions. Recalling John's providential escape from the burning house, she said in one of the recorded meditations of her weekly retirement and prayer with him, "I do intend to be more particularly careful of the soul of this child that thou hast so mercifully provided for, than ever I have been, that I may do my endeavor to instill into his mind the principles of true religion and virtue. Lord, give me grace to do it sincerely and prudently, and bless my attempt with good success."

She corresponded with them continually while they were at Oxford, and really directed their religious course. Her letters were as full of good sense as of Christian feeling. "In good earnest," she wrote to John, "resolve to make religion the business of your life; for, after all, that is the one thing that, strictly speaking, is necessary. All things besides are comparatively little to the purposes of life. I heartily wish you would now enter upon a strict examination of yourself, that you may know whether you have a reasonable hope of salvation by Jesus Christ. If you have, the satisfaction of knowing it will abundantly reward your pains; if you have not, you will find a more reasonable occasion for tears than can be met with in any tragedy." He was thus prompted to those religious inquiries which led to Methodism. On examining the Calvinistic controversy, he informed her of his Arminian conclusions. She confirmed him in these views, and expressed her abhorrence of the Calvinistic theology. God's prescience, she argued, is no more the effective cause of the loss of the wicked than our foreknowledge of the rising of to-morrow's sun is the cause of its rising. She prudently advised, however, abstinence from these speculations as "studies which tended more to confound than to inform the understanding." He returned to Epworth in deep religious solicitude, for a period of rural retirement,

during which he yielded perilously to Mystical tenddencies under the influence of à Kempis and Law. The turning point which was to fit or unfit him for his great task had not yet been passed. He had desired at one time to try the tranquil life of the Catholic recluses; "it was the decided temper of his soul," he said. Seclusion from the world for at least some months might, he hoped, settle his thoughts and habits. A school in one of the "Yorkshire dales" was proposed. His wiser mother again stepped in to save him for his appointed career, prophetically intimating that God had better work for him to do. He tells us himself, that before his return to the university he traveled some miles to see a "serious man." "Sir," said this person, as if inspired at the right moment, with the right word, for the man of Providence standing before him; "Sir, you wish to serve God and go to heaven; remember you cannot serve him alone; you must therefore *find* companions, or *make* them; the Bible knows nothing of solitary religion." Wesley never forgot these words. They, perhaps, forecast the history of his life. On reaching Oxford he found "companions" already prepared for him by his brother's agency. The "Holy Club" was now known there, and the epithet of "Methodist" had already been committed to ecclesiastical history. When he reported

to her the formation of the "Holy Club" of "Methodists" at Oxford she wrote: "I heartily join with your small Society in all their pious and charitable actions. May you still, in such good works, go on and prosper! Though absent in body, I am present with you in spirit; and daily recommend and commit you all to Divine Providence." When she was a widow, and John and Charles were called to the colony of Georgia as missionaries, their consent depended upon hers; her reply was what might have been expected from such a woman: "If I had twenty sons I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them again."

On their return from America, still unregenerate men, as they deemed themselves, they were led, chiefly by the guidance of the Moravian Bishop Boëhler, into a true divine life; John immediately resorted to his mother, now living in London, as his best counselor. He read to her a paper recording his late religious experience. She strongly approved it, and said she "heartily blessed God who had brought him to so just a way of thinking."

During the stirring events with which Methodism was founded, Susanna Wesley was providentially still at hand, though in extreme age, to counsel and encourage her son. She approved his field-preaching, and accompanied him to Kennington

Common, where she stood by his side amid twenty thousand people. Her son, Samuel Wesley, with whom she had resided at Westminster since the dispersion of the family from Epworth, remonstrated against her sanction of the irregular labors of his brothers; but she saw the overruling hand of God in the inevitable circumstances which compelled them to their extraordinary course. A consultation was held in her presence respecting their separation from the Fetter-lane Society, by which Methodism, hitherto blended with Moravianism, took a distinct stand for its great, peculiar, independent work, and she approved that necessary measure. She had been led, about this time, by a clearer faith, to sympathize more fully than ever with their new views of the spiritual life. John Wesley records a conversation with her on the subject, in which she remarked that till lately she had rarely heard of the present conscious forgiveness of sins, or the Witness of the Spirit, much less that it was the common privilege of all true believers. "Therefore," she said, "I never durst ask for it myself. But two or three weeks ago, while my son Hall, in delivering the cup to me, was pronouncing these words: 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee,' they struck through my heart, and I knew that God, for Christ's sake, had forgiven *me* all *my* sins." Wesley asked whether her father (Dr. Annesley) had

not the same faith, and if she had not heard him preach it to others. She answered, he had it himself, and declared, a little before his death, that for more than forty years he had no darkness, no fear, no doubt at all of his being "accepted in the Beloved;" but that, nevertheless, she did not remember to have heard him preach even once explicitly upon it; whence she supposed he also looked upon it as the peculiar blessing of a few, and not as promised to all the people of God. Doubtless she had enjoyed before this time a genuine Christian experience; her writings incontestably prove this; her misgivings related to the degree of confidence which attends a true faith. The doctrine of Assurance, or the Witness of the Spirit, as Wesley called it, had always been admitted by the Puritan divines of both Old and New England; but, as she remarked, it had not been considered the privilege of all true believers. At this time the aged mother of Wesley was, after a long and faithful pilgrimage, enabled, "with humble boldness," to claim the consolation of that "assurance" which she had so long hesitated to accept. Such is the only possible explanation of the case.

In changing the Foundry into a chapel, he had prepared an adjacent house as a residence for himself and his assistants in London. Hither his mother now removed, and here she spent her remaining

days, sustained by his filial care, and counseling him in his new responsibilities. She induced him to accept Thomas Maxwell as a preacher, and thus really began the lay ministry of Methodism, the most important fact of its ecclesiastical system. Having lingered till her seventy-third year, counseling and encouraging her sons, and having at last aided in securing the prospects of Methodism indefinitely, if not for all time, by the introduction of a lay ministry, Susanna Wesley died on the premises of the Foundry, within sound of the voices of prayer and praise which were ascending almost daily from that memorable edifice—the first Methodist chapel opened in the world, the scene of the organization of the first of the "United Societies," and of the first session of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. It was a befitting place for the departure of the mother of the Wesleys from the Church on earth to the Church in heaven. She had, says Wesley, no doubt, or fear, or any desire but to depart and be with Christ. He and five of her daughters stood around her bed when she expired, on the 23d of July, 1742. When no longer able to speak, but apparently still conscious, her look, calm and serene, was fixed upward, while they commended her to God in prayer. She died without pain, and at the moment of her departure her children, gathering close around her, sung, as she

had requested with her last words, "a psalm of praise to God." Followed by an innumerable concourse of people, Wesley committed her remains to the grave, among the many illustrious dead of Bunhill-fields.

What great results have sprung from the family of this remarkable woman, and primarily, as we have seen from her agency! By the year of her death Methodism had taken ineradicable root in the British empire; it had its societies, chapels, and itinerant ministry; it was yet apparently feeble, but was really fraught with vitality, like that which, inclosed in a single acorn, can in due time cover whole isothermal belts of the world with forest growths, shaking like Lebanon, and affording the "wooden walls" of nations. I have lately had occasion to trace, elsewhere, its rapid development,* and to show that it had already become apparent that a new epoch had occurred in the history of English Christianity. Under the influence of Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon the Calvinistic nonconformity of the realm was about to arise as from the dead to new life, which has continued ever since with increasing vigor; by the same means, with the co-operation of Wesley, a powerful evangelical party was about to be raised up in the Establishment, and most of the measures of evangelical propa

* "Centenary of Methodism," etc.

gandism which have since kept British Christianity alive with energy, and have extended its activity to the foreign world, are distinctly traceable to this great "revival." Even Southey, no partial authority, admits that "to the impulse, which was given by Methodism, that missionary spirit may be ascribed which is now carrying the light of the Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth." Meanwhile its reformatory power among the English common people was becoming unquestionable and marvelous to all candid observers. At about the end of its first decade, only eight years after the death of Susanna Wesley, a scarcely paralleled religious interest had been spread and sustained throughout the United Kingdom and along the Atlantic coast of America. Not only had the Churches of both countries been extensively reawakened, but the great fact of a Lay Ministry had been permanently established—great not only in its direct results, but perhaps more so by its reacting shock, in various respects, against the ecclesiasticism which for fifteen hundred years had fettered Christianity with bands of iron. It had presented before the world the greatest pulpit orator of the age, if not of any age—Whitefield; also one of the greatest religious legislators of history—Wesley; a hymnist whose supremacy has been but doubtfully disputed by a single rival—Charles Wesley; and the most signal example of direct female

agency in religious affairs which Christian history records—the Countess of Huntingdon. The lowest abysses of the English population among colliers and miners had been reached by the Gospel. Calvinistic Methodism was restoring the decayed nonconformity of England. Wesleyan Methodism, though adhering to the Establishment, had taken an organic and permanent form; it had its Annual Conferences, Quarterly Conferences, Class Meetings and Band Meetings; its Watch-nights and Love-feasts; its Traveling Preachers, Local Preachers, Exhorters, Leaders, Trustees, and Stewards. It had districted England, Wales, and Ireland into Circuits for systematic ministerial labors. It had fought its way through incredible persecutions and riots, and had won at last a general, though not universal peace. Its Chapels and Preachers' houses, or parsonages, were multiplying over the country. It had a rich Psalmody, which has since spread wherever the English tongue is used; and a well defined Theology, distinguished by two notable features that could not fail to secure popular interest, namely, that it transcended the prevalent creeds in both *spirituality* and *liberality:* in its experimental doctrines of Conversion, Sanctification, and the Witness of the Spirit, and in the evangelical liberalism of its Arminianism. It had begun its present scheme of Popular Religious Literature, had provided the

first of that series of Academic institutions which has since extended with its progress, and was contemplating a plan of Ministerial Education, which has been effectively accomplished. Already the despondent declarations of Watts, Secker, and Butler, respecting the prospects of religion, might be pronounced no longer relevant. Yet Watts had been dead but two years, and Secker and Butler still survived.

At the end of the third decade, the year in which it sent its first missionaries to America, it enrolled more than twenty-eight thousand members and one hundred and twelve lay traveling preachers, besides the Wesleys and their clerical coadjutors.

The son of Susanna Wesley lived to see his cause established in the United States with an episcopal organization, planted in the British North American Provinces, and in the West Indies, and died at last in 1791, with his system apparently completed, universally effective and prosperous, sustained by five hundred and fifty itinerant and thousands of local preachers, and more than one hundred and forty thousand members, and so energetic that many men, who had been his co-laborers, lived to see it the predominant body of Dissenters in the United Kingdom and the British Colonies, the most numerous Church of the United

States of America, and successfully planted on most of the outlines of the missionary world. And when (in 1839) its General Centenary was celebrated, it had grown to more than 1,171,000 members, including about 5,200 itinerant preachers in the Wesleyan and Methodist Episcopal Churches; and, comprising the various bodies bearing the name of Methodists, to an army of more than 1,400,000, of whom 6,080 were itinerant preachers. Its missionaries, accredited members of Conferences, were about three hundred and fifty, with nearly an equal number of salaried, and about three thousand unpaid assistants. They occupied about three hundred stations, each station being the head of a circuit. They were laboring in Sweden, Germany, France, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Malta, Western and Southern Africa, Ceylon, Continental India, New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, New Zealand, Tonga, Habai Islands, Vavou Islands, Fiji Islands, the West Indies. They had under instruction in their mission schools about fifty thousand pupils, and in their mission Churches were more than seventy thousand communicants. At least two hundred thousand persons heard the Gospel regularly in their mission chapels. The Methodist missionaries were now more numerous than the whole Wesleyan ministry as enrolled on the Minutes of the last Conference attended by Wesley, and their missionary communicants were

about equal to the whole number of Methodists in Europe at that day. In our day the statistical strength of Methodism (in its various branches) throughout the world is estimated "at 50,000 preachers, 3,000,000 members, and 12,000,000 hearers."* Geographers give the Protestant population of the globe at 80,000,000; more than one seventh of these belong therefore to the congregations of Methodism. Susanna Wesley is universally accredited, by Methodist writers, as the real foundress of this mighty success. She planted its germ at Epworth; she kept it alive, by her vigilant nurture, when it was transplanted to Oxford; she guarded and reared it into mature strength in London; and her name will be forever inseparable from that of her son, in the veneration of Methodists throughout the world.

* Tefft's Methodism," etc.

CHAPTER II.

MARY FLETCHER AND HER COMPANIONS.

Her Relation to Wesley — Her Character — Her Early Life — Her Schools and Usefulness — Margaret Lewen — Mrs. Fletcher's Public Labors — Her Marriage to Fletcher — Her Life at Madeley — Her Happy old Age — Her Death — Madeley Mementoes — Her Companions — Sarah Ryan — Wesley's Letters to her — Sketch of her Life — Her Death — Sarah Crosby — Wesley's Correspondence with her — Sketch of her Life — Her Death — Sarah Lawrence — Her Devotion and Usefulness — Women and Methodism.

In losing his mother, Wesley lost his earliest and best counselor; but she had been spared long enough to see Methodism fully initiated and guaranteed forever. One of his best, if not one of his earliest, subsequent female associates in his great work — one who was to assist him with her sympathies and modest but effective co-operation throughout his long career, and to witness the prosperity of his cause for nearly a quarter of a century after his death — was Mary Bosanquet, the wife of his friend, who was the providentially appointed expounder and defender of the Theology of Methodism, John William Fletcher. With a piety as fervid as any example recorded in the lives of the canonized women of Romanism, she combined the accomplishments of a refined education, which protected her from

the perils of Mysticism, and a habit of practical usefulness which crowned her long life with labors and charities. An author,* who belonged not to Methodism, has said of her, that "in the apostolic age she would have been a Priscilla, and have taken her rank among the presbyteresses, or female confessors of the primitive Church. Had she been born within the Romish communion, she would probably have been enrolled among the saints of the calendar." She has left us memoirs of herself, written with admirable simplicity and candor, and in a style superior to that of most of the early biographies of Methodism. She was born of wealthy parents in 1739. When between seven and eight years of age she would often "muse on that thought, What can it be to know my sins forgiven, and to have faith in Jesus?" The inquiry perplexed her dawning mind, but she was enabled to cry out with joy, "I do, I do rely on Jesus; yes, I do rely on Jesus, and God counts me righteous for what he hath done and suffered, and hath forgiven all my sins." She was surprised, she adds, that she could not find out this before. She had seized the profoundest and most distinctive idea of Christianity.

Her family moved in the circles of fashionable life, and she was led by them into the gayeties of Bath and London—to the ball-room and the opera—but

* Burder: "Pious Women."

her devout aspirations could not be quenched. A Methodist servant-maid was employed in the household; her conversations with a sister of Mary, overheard by the latter, confirmed her religious impressions, and were, in fine, instrumental in determining her subsequent life.

Her girlhood had charms, from her affectionate and elevated character, if not from her person,* and she had a suitor who, for his wealth and position, was encouraged by her parents, but whose fashionable habits she could not reconcile with her scriptural views of religion. She became acquainted with some intelligent female Methodists of London, and was thenceforward resolute to forsake the follies which beset her condition in life. Walking in the garden of her father's country house at Epping Forest, she recalled their religious conversations. "The prospect of a life wholly devoted to God" now absorbed every other consideration. "Such a sweet sense of God," she says, "the greatness of his love, and willingness to save to the uttermost, remained on my mind, that if I but thought of the word holiness, or of the adorable name of Jesus, my heart seemed to take fire in an instant, and my desires were more intensely fixed on God than ever I had found them before."

* Her extant portrait is evidently little better than a caricature, poorly executed, and representing her plethoric and advanced in life.

Her natural temperament, while favorable to piety, was also liable to superstition; an almost clairvoyant nervous power seemed to belong to her constitution, and the early accounts of her relate marvels which still puzzle the reader; but her good sense and Christian modesty preserved her from dangerous delusions even at this early period of her life.

Her parents wished her to accompany them to Scarborough, hoping to dispel her religious thoughtfulness by its summer gayeties; but with filial affectionateness and Christian meekness she pleaded to be spared what she deemed so great a peril. She was left with her friends in London, where she now became acquainted with Sarah Ryan, a woman of remarkable character, one of Wesley's correspondents, and formerly housekeeper of his Kingswood school. At her house Mary Bosanquet found the companionship her devout heart needed. A few of the most devoted members of the London society were frequently gathered there. "The more I saw of that family," she says, "the more I was convinced Christ had yet a pure Church below; and often, while in their company, I thought myself with the hundred and twenty that waited to be baptized by the Holy Spirit. Whenever I was from home this was the place of my residence, and truly I found it to be a little Bethel."

One day her father said to her: "There is a par-

ticular promise which I require of you; that is, that you will never, on any occasion, either now or hereafter, attempt to make your brothers what you call a Christian." "I answered," she writes, "looking to the Lord, I think, sir, I dare not consent to that." He replied, "Then you force me to put you out of my house." "Yes, sir," she answered, "according to your views of things, I acknowledge it; and if I may but have your approval, no situation will be disagreeable."

Having attained her majority, and possessing a small fortune in her own right, she removed, with the approval of her parents, to lodgings at some distance from her father's house, and, securing a maid-servant, lived there in religious peace, devoting her time to usefulness, and her income, above her necessities, to a few poor widows whom she had for some time aided. "And now that thought, I am brought out of the world, I have nothing to do but to be holy, both in body and spirit, filled me," she says, "with consolation; thankfulness overflowed my heart; and such a spirit of peace and content flowed into my soul, that all about me seemed a little heaven. I had now daily more and more cause for praise. I was acquainted with many of the excellent of the earth, and my delight was in them. Yet I was not without my cross; for every time I went to see my dear parents, what I felt when, toward night, I rose

up to go away, cannot well be imagined. Not that I wished to abide there; but there was something in bidding farewell to those under whose roof I had always lived that used to affect me much, though I saw the wise and gracious hand of God in it all, and that he had by this means set me free for his own service."

Thenceforward her life was one of unostentatious but active devotion and benevolence. She entered fully into the labors of the London Methodist societies, and became a witness, through life and in death, for the doctrine of sanctification, as well as justification, by faith, as taught by Wesley. A house of her own at Laytonstone, her native place, becoming vacant, she removed thither with her friend, Sarah Ryan, in 1763, and converted it into a charity school for destitute orphans. It was also made a Methodist preaching-house, and in a fortnight a society of twenty-five members had been formed. The institution at Laytonstone became not only a refuge for orphan children and the poor, but a sanctuary to the devout, and a home for preachers. Its family comprised thirty persons. Wesley visited it in his journeys with delight. "I rode over to Laytonstone," he writes, December 12, 1765, "and found one truly Christian family." In 1767 he says: "O what a house of God is here! not only for decency and order, but for the life and power of

religion. I am afraid there are very few such to be found in all the king's dominions." Its unavoidable trials — within, from incompatibilities of temper; and without, from misconstructions of its design and economy — were borne patiently by its benevolent proprietress, and managed skillfully by her able friend, whose experience at Kingswood was now of valuable service. Sarah Ryan, after much affliction, died a blessed death under its roof, in 1768; and other similar death scenes were recorded in its interesting history. Wesley says, in his Journal, October 31, 1766, that he was suddenly called to Laytonstone to attend in death Margaret Lewen, "a pattern to all young women of fortune in England, a real Bible Christian. So she 'rested from her labors, and her works do follow her.'" Margaret Lewen was a wealthy young Methodist, who lived and died in the family. She left two thousand pounds to it; but Miss Bosanquet did not claim the legacy, for fear it should be ascribed to her management by the family of Miss Lewen. Her death was remarkable, with some sad but unexplained incidents; yet she departed in great triumph. "When I am dying," she said, "if I cannot speak, ask me any question, and if I mean yes, I will hold up my hand, for I would wish to praise God to the last." In the evening she seemed just departing; her hostess asked, "'Is glory open before you?' She lifted up her

hands, pointing with one finger, and strove to speak, but we could only make out the word 'Glory;' the joy of her countenance was beyond all words, and in this posture she in one moment breathed her last."

The institution was removed to Cross Hall, in Yorkshire, where a large farm was secured for it. Here also it became the center of active religious labors. Worshipers flocked to its meetings from a distance, so numerously that they could not be accommodated; and similar services were established by Miss Bosanquet in various parts of the county. Wesley visited Cross Hall, as he had Laytonstone, and says, (July 7, 1770,) "It is a pattern, and general blessing to the country."

She was now not only a band-leader and class-leader, but a public speaker in her numerous rustic assemblies. Her assistants at Laytonstone, Miss Crosby and Miss Tripp, followed her example in these labors, and with great usefulness. Her characteristic good sense and modesty secured her general respect, notwithstanding her extraordinary course. She and her associates followed strictly the advice of Wesley. He had recorded the example of his own mother, who held similar meetings at the Epworth Rectory, and had thereby filled the parish church. "I think the case rests here," he wrote; "in *your* having an extraordinary call. So I am persuaded has every one of our lay preachers; other-

wise I could not countenance his preaching at all. It is plain to me, that the whole work of God termed Methodism is an extraordinary dispensation of his providence; therefore, I do not wonder if several things occur therein which do not fall under ordinary rules of discipline. St. Paul's ordinary rule was, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the congregation.' Yet, in extraordinary cases, he made a few exceptions; at Corinth in particular." The example would seem perilous; but under proper regulations it had assumed, in the "Society of Friends," even a graceful beauty, and was not productive of extravagances. St. Paul had prohibited women from public interference with Church affairs; but was his language to be literally and rigorously applied to cases like these? Do we not read of the prophetesses and deaconnesses of his times? Wesley wrote to these excellent ladies: "The difference between us and the Quakers in this respect is manifest. They flatly deny the rule itself, although it stands clear in the Bible. We allow the rule; only we believe it admits of some exceptions."

They did not intrude into pulpits; their discourses were usually exhortations, sometimes expositions of Holy Scripture. In later years Mary Fletcher had a seat elevated a step or two above the level of the floor, whence she addressed the people in the several chapels which she and her husband erected in the

vicinity of Madeley. Her discourses are described as luminous and truly eloquent, displaying much good sense, and fraught with the riches of the Gospel; and years later Wesley says: "Her words are as a fire, conveying both light and heat to the hearts of all that hear her." Her manner of speaking, he writes, is "smooth, easy, and natural, even when the sense is deep and strong." She guarded with good sense against excesses in her meetings. Speaking of one of them she says: "Some little touches of enthusiasm were beginning to creep in among us, which I thought the more dangerous, as the meeting now grows very numerous, members being added from all sides. Yet it was a great trial for me to have to reprove them: 1. Because many are much further advanced in grace than I am. 2. I was deeply conscious it is one of the most delicate subjects in the world, and requires both much wisdom and much love, to extinguish false fire, and yet to keep up the true. All the day I kept pleading before the Lord, mostly in these words of Solomon: 'Ah! Lord, how shall I, who am but a child, go in and out before this thy chosen people.'"

Such was the woman whom Fletcher selected for his wife; "a woman," says Robert Southey, "perfectly suited to him in age, temper, piety, and talents." Repeated and advantageous offers of marriage had been made to her, but she refused

them all till the Vicar of Madeley applied for her hand. She had known him for twenty-five years, but had not seen him for fifteen years; during all this time Fletcher had loved her, and the affection was mutual, though mutually unknown. Her wealth had kept him from any overtures. The way now fortunately opened for their union, and in November, 1781, they were married in Batley Church. Their nuptials presented a scene befitting the Apostolic Christians, or a world of unfallen inhabitants. It was in the truest sense a religious festival. About a year afterward Fletcher wrote to Charles Wesley, who knew the felicity of a happy marriage: "I thank you for your hint about exemplifying the love of Christ and his Church. I hope we do. I was afraid at first to say much of the matter, for new married people do not at first know each other; but having now lived fourteen months in my new state, I can tell you Providence has reserved a prize for me, and that my wife is far better to me than the Church to Christ; so that if the parallel fail, it will be on my side."

Fletcher and his wife were both more active than ever, in Christian usefulness, during the four years of their happy union. They opened new places of religious worship in Madeley, and among its neighboring hamlets. He erected a chapel and schoolhouse in Madeley Wood, in order to secure Methodist

services in the parish, if any changes after his death should exclude them from its church; and immediately subsequent to the origin of Sunday-schools, he established them in the town, and quickly had three hundred children under instruction. Accompanied by his wife he preached in many places, and visited Dublin, where their labors left a lasting blessing to the Methodist societies. One of Wesley's preachers records that such a spirit of piety prevailed for sev eral miles in and about Madeley as he had nowhere else witnessed. The saintly vicar's influence was perpetuated in the person of his wife for thirty years after his death. Her home at Madeley was a sanctuary to the poor, to devout women, and to the itinerant evangelists. Many are the allusions in the contemporary Methodist biographies to its Christian hospitality, its instructive conversations about the deep things of God, its frequent meetings for prayer and Scripture exposition by its aged hostess. She suffered much from ill health, but continued her preaching in the neighboring hamlets as well as at home. She enjoyed her declining years, for they were sunny with light from heaven. "Of all my situations," she wrote in 1809, alluding to the various stages of her life, "none has been equal to this. O the loving-kindness of my God! I am in a most peaceful habitation; and some of the clusters of grapes from Canaan I do taste of, and sit as on the

banks of Jordan, waiting to be brought over." She commemorated yearly, by holy exercises, the anniversaries of her wedding and her husband's death. On the 12th of November, in this year, she writes: "Twenty-eight years this day, and at this hour, I gave my hand and heart to Jean Guillaume de la Flechere. A profitable and blessed period of my life! I feel at this moment a more tender affection toward him than I did at that time, and by faith I now join my hand afresh with his." She believed that his beloved spirit still communed with hers, and she lived in habitual readiness to rejoin him. Her sufferings increased as she advanced toward her end; but she is able to write as late as July, 1814: "How tenderly the Lord deals with me! I am very weak, and yet am oft five times in a week able to be at my meetings, and I have strength to speak so that all may hear, and the Lord is very present with us. Lord, fill my soul with abundant praise!"

She begins the next year, the seventy-sixth of her age, with the record, "O I long that the year fifteen may be the best of all my life." She was not to be disappointed, for it was to conclude her long pilgrimage. On the 14th of the ensuing August she writes: "Thirty years this day I drank the bitter cup, and closed the eyes of my beloved husband; and now I am myself in a dying state. Lord, prepare me! I feel death very near. My soul doth wait, and long

to fly to the bosom of my God! Come, my adorable Saviour! I lie at thy feet."

The closing scene of her life became more solemnly beautiful as its end approached. With increasing illness she continued her Christian labors: "It is as if every meeting would take away my life," she says; "but I will speak to them while I have my breath." On the 27th of September she writes: "O show thy lovely face! Draw me more close to thyself! I long, I wait for a closer union. It is amazing under how many complaints I still live. But they are held by the hand of the Lord. On the Monday evenings I have had some power to read and speak at the rooms till the nights grew dark; but on Sunday noon I have yet liberty, though my eyes are so bad. The Lord helps me wonderfully. In the class also, in the morning, the Lord doth help." About a month later (October 26) she says: "I have had a bad night; but asking help of the Lord for closer communion, my precious Lord applied that word, 'I have borne thy sins in my own body on the tree.' I felt his presence. I seem very near death; but I long to fly into the arms of my beloved Lord. I feel his loving-kindness surrounds me." Such was the last entry in her Journal. On the 9th of December she entered into her eternal rest. "I am drawing near to glory;" "There is my home and portion fair;" "Jesus, come, my hope of glory;" "He lifts

his hands and shows that I am graven there," were among her last utterances. "The Lord bless both thee and me," she said to a Christian friend, and died. "Her countenance," writes this lady, "was as sweet a one as was ever seen in death. There was at the last neither sigh, groan, or struggle; and she had all the appearance of a person in the most composed slumber."

Like her husband, she was mourned by the whole surrounding community, for she had been "a burning and a shining light" among them. Not only by her public labors, but by her visits to the afflicted and her charities had she endeared herself to them. Her chief, if not her only fault, was her too rigorous self-denial for their relief. A friend, who made up her accounts for her last year, reports that her whole expenditure, on her own apparel, amounted to nineteen shillings and sixpence. "Her expenses were not always so small," it is added, "but they never amounted to five pounds per annum." Her "poor account" for the same year amounted to nearly one hundred and eighty-two pounds. She lived only for eternity, and thereby attained a happy life in both worlds. Her public discourses were instructive and impressive, and the good results of the neighboring places of worship, established and supplied by her husband and herself, long remained visible. Hodson, who preached her funeral sermon, says:

"The method she adopted was as follows: sometimes she read extracts from the principal writings of learned and pious men, making remarks as she went on; and at the end of each paragraph or section made a suitable improvement. In this way she read and enlarged on the memoirs of holy men and women, showing how they lived and how they died. The titles of Christ, and the relations in which he stands to believers, were, with her, favorite topics. On these subjects she was not only pleasing, but instructive. Some of her discourses were remarkable for ingenuity and originality. Had she been a woman of feeble mind, she could not have retained her influence and popularity for so many years in the same place; for her congregations were full as large, after thirty years' labors, as when she first opened her commission among them." "With respect to her person," he says, "she was rather below the middle size. Her appearance was noble, and commanded respect. Her face was nearly oval; her forehead was large; her eyes were also large, prominent, and penetrating. Whether she was handsome in her youth, I cannot say, but certainly she was a very fine old woman."

Some time after her death Entwisle, a Wesleyan itinerant, visited Madeley. "I preached," he wrote, "in the Tythe Barn, adjoining to the vicarage, which was furnished with benches and a desk, with a gallery

at one end, by Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher. Hundreds of people were stowed together, insomuch that I could scarcely squeeze through them to the desk. The barn seems to have been built two hundred years; it is open to the roof, thatched with straw, and all the windows, except one, are made of oiled paper. My soul was filled with a pleasingly awful sense of the divine presence; and the recollection of the blessed couple (though I never saw their faces) helped me while I spoke. It is easy to preach here: I could have continued all night. The apparent seriousness, earnestness, and zeal of the people were delightful." He preached also at Colebrook Dale on a week-day, where hundreds crowded to hear him. Fletcher had provided this chapel, and hewed out of the solid rock, with his own hands, the first stone for it. "When I thought," says the visitor, "here Fletcher lived and labored, I breathed after his spirit. O may I follow him as he followed Christ!" The same evening he preached in the chapel in Madeley Wood to an immense crowd, who still testified, by their earnest spirit, to the abiding influence of the two departed saints who had rendered their rural parish memorable and hallowed. He adds: "This chapel was also erected by Fletcher, as also another by Mary Fletcher in another part of the parish; so that three Methodist chapels are provided in Madeley parish by that blessed couple, in

which it is hoped the Gospel will be preached for centuries; and if the vicarage barn be not used, another chapel will be built in its stead. The present curate showed me the vicarage, the church, Fletcher's entries of baptisms and burials, and his tomb. Everything about Fletcher is interesting to me. I talked to the curate about his soul, and what I said was attended with the divine blessing; he went home weeping and praying. To God be the glory! To all eternity I hope to praise God for my visit to the parish where Fletcher labored and died. O may I partake of his spirit more and more! His parishioners seem to have a good degree of it. Perhaps to the end of time the fruit of his labors will remain, and his memory be precious." A later itinerant visiting the place, writes: "The old church in which Fletcher preached has been pulled down, and a new one built in its place; the '*Barn*' in which Fletcher, and afterward his wife, used to hold meetings for exposition and prayer, has been removed, and the site on which it stood added to an ornamental garden. We saw the *study*, and the identical *desk* on which he had written his '*Checks*,' and other immortal productions of his sanctified genius. We saw, also, the *lantern* which this zealous evangelist was accustomed to carry about in the dark nights to his preaching places, and also to use in the morning before five o'clock, to call the people

from their slumbers to attend worship at that early hour. We were shown also about fifty of Fletcher's skeleton sermons, most beautifully and neatly written, and placed in a cloth case, evidently to be carried in the pocket. Be assured we visited the grave of this glorious Christian. The church-yard is most beautiful, if a burying-place can be considered beautiful. The tomb is plain, bearing an inscription on an iron slab covering the masonry, of Fletcher and his remarkable wife; while on each side is found a memorial of Miss Tooth and Sarah Lawrence. There is a sacredness in these things which we cannot, and have no desire to resist." *

For nearly half a century the record of Mary Fletcher's saintly career has been a familiar book in Methodist families throughout the world, and has tended to perpetuate among them the primitive spirit of the denomination. Of her associates and assistants we have had some glimpses in the preceding narrative; they were like-minded with herself, and some of their names are historical in Methodism, familiar in the contemporaneous Methodist writings. Her peculiar character and habitually fervid piety had a magical attraction for devout minds of her sex, and gathered them about her to share, not in monastic rigors, but evangelical devotions and useful labors under her roof.

* Letter of Rev. Dr. Dixon to the Author.

SARAH RYAN, at whose house she early found a religious asylum in London, who started with her the Laytonstone establishment, and ascended from it to heaven, was one of the most notable of the primitive Wesleyan women. Wesley's works retain nine of his many letters to her. He says, "I can hardly avoid trembling for you still; upon what a pinnacle do you stand! Perhaps few persons in England have been in so dangerous a situation as you are now? I know not whether any other was ever so regarded both by my brother and me at the same time. What can I do to help you? The Father of mercies help you, and with his favorable kindness surround you on every side! May the eternal Spirit help you in every thought, word, and work, to serve the living God!" Again he writes: "How did you feel yourself under your late trial? Did you find no stirring of resentment? No remains of your own will? No desire or wish, that things should be otherwise? I never saw you so much moved as you appeared to be that evening. Your soul was then greatly troubled. And was not your heart unhinged at all? Was it not ruffled or discomposed? Was your soul all the time calmly stayed on God? Most of the trials you have lately met with have been of another kind; but it is expedient for you to go through both evil and good report. The conversing with you, either by speak-

ing or writing, is an unspeakable blessing to me. I cannot think of you without thinking of God. Others often lead me to him; but it is, as it were, going round about—you bring me straight into his presence." Again he says: "O that I could be of some use to you! I long to help you forward in your way. I want to have your understanding a mere lamp of light, always shining with light from above! I want you to be full of divine knowledge and wisdom, as Jordan in the time of harvest. I want your words to be full of grace, poured out as precious ointment. I want your every work to bear the stamp of God, to be a sacrifice of sweet smelling savor! Without any part weak, earthly, or human—all holy, divine! The great God, your Father and your Love, bring you to this self-same thing! Begin soldier of Christ, child of God! Walk worthy of the vocation wherewith thou art called! Remember the faith! Remember the Captain of thy salvation! Fight! conquer! die—and live for ever!"

He published her autobiography in his Arminian Magazine. Her early life was gay and frivolous, though not without severe afflictions. "My merciful God," she writes, "did not leave me to follow my own imaginations, but often checked me by that thought, 'Must all men die? Must all have an end? And must I die?' Sometimes I was so sunk at the thought as to be truly miserable." She

"had a great love of reading;" but the fascinations of life incessantly broke in upon her good resolutions and her frequent attempts to attain higher enjoyment. Methodist influences at last reached her. She heard Wesley often, and while receiving the Lord's Supper from his hands at the Old Foundry, received the peace of God. But her vacillating temperament brought upon her many spiritual conflicts and vicissitudes, till she attained that higher sanctification which was the familiar theme of early Methodism. She could at last write to Wesley: "I find my whole heart and affections entirely fixed on the Lord Jesus. I have no will, but what is conformable to his; no happiness, but in doing his pleasure. I feel I am capable, yea, very capable, of suffering; and much of this he hath been pleased to lay upon me; but through all, my soul sweetly rests on the bosom of my Beloved. I am willing to be offered up as a whole burnt-sacrifice to him: and I pray, from my inmost soul, that he would withhold from me no suffering that can work for his glory, only let *his* will be done. To him I entirely consecrate myself; to him be might, majesty, and dominion, now and for evermore!"

She became the housekeeper of Wesley's Kingswood school for some time, and afterward was the faithful co-laborer of Mary Fletcher till her death in 1768. She was pathetically mourned by Mrs.

Fletcher, who says, "She experienced in reality what she had seen in her dream, namely, that He would

'Kiss her raptured soul away.'

She departed this life in the forty-fourth year of her age. Thus passed the dreaded moment which I had for seven years so painfully apprehended. But she had often in her illness said to me, 'My dear friend, I have obtained for you of the Lord that you shall not be overcome of sorrow; therefore fear not, for I know he heard me.' Her prayer was in a great degree answered; I was not overcome of sorrow. The thought of her long suffering and present happiness much alleviated the bitter cup which I had tasted of occasionally for some years. My great affliction did not come at once. The Lord treated me as we do a child; he put one thing into my hand to take away another. I thought I saw some comfortable prospects before me in life, and a vail was drawn over the many and great crosses which were to follow. I prayed I might be kept close to the will of God, and preserved from turning to the right hand or to the left, now that I had lost my spiritual mother. But I did not wish to die, neither could I get my heart into that spiritual frame I had enjoyed in the year 1762, and therefore, being mingled with earth, I felt all my ties were not cut through. I had sometimes

conversed with her on the subject of departed spirits having communion with us, and she used to say, 'If it be the will of my heavenly Father, I should rejoice to communicate some comfort to you, either in a dream or any other way." But I never had even the slightest remembrance of her in any dream for some months, though she possessed so great a share in my waking thoughts. I often wondered at this, till one night, I think six months after her death, I thought she was hovering over me, as in a cloud, and from thence spoke in her own voice some lines in verse; but I could only retain the latter part, which were these words:

> 'Mingled with earth we can no more;
> But when you worship God alone,
> We then shall mutually adore.'

By which I understood she meant, I was not in that purity which was requisite for communion with heavenly spirits; but it raised in my heart an expectation that such a season would come."

Such marvels were not uncommon to the credulity of those times; if our reason refuses the interpretation she gives it, our hearts will still respect the pious humility with which she treats it.

SARAH CROSBY has already been mentioned as one of Mary Fletcher's assistants; she also was a correspondent of Wesley, and one of his most esteemed female co-laborers, addressing meetings, not only in

houses but in the fields, holding a service almost daily at five o'clock in the morning, (as was customary among the Methodists,) as well as in the afternoon and evening. Wesley guided her in these labors, and maintained an intimate Christian correspondence with her. "It comforts me," he wrote, "to hear that your love does not decrease; I want it to increase daily. Is there not height and depth in Him with whom you have to do, for your love to rise infinitely higher, and to sink infinitely deeper, into him than ever it has done yet? Are you fully employed for him? And yet so as to have some time, daily, for reading and other private exercises? If you should grow cold, it would afflict me much. Rather let me always rejoice over you." Again he writes: "Hitherto I think you have not gone too far. You could not well do less. I apprehend all you can do more is, when you meet again, to tell them simply, 'You lay me under a great difficulty. The Methodists do not allow of women-preachers. Neither do I take upon me any such character. But I will just nakedly tell you what is in my heart.' This will, in a great measure, obviate the grand objection, and prepare for J. Hampson's coming. I do not see that you have broken any law. Go on calmly and steadily. If you have time, you may read to them the Notes on any chapter before you speak a few words, or one of the

most awakening sermons, as other women have done long ago." Again he says: "You oblige me much by speaking so freely. What an admirable teacher is experience! You have great reason to praise God for what he has taught you hereby, and to expect that he will teach you all things. But whatever you find now, beware you do not deny what you had once received. I do not say 'a divine assurance that you should *never sin*, or sustain any *spiritual loss*.' I know not that ever you received this. But you certainly were *saved from sin*, and that as clearly, and in as high degree, as ever Sally Ryan was. And if you have sustained any loss in this, believe, and be made whole." Still again he writes: "It is a long time since I heard either of you or from you. I hope you think of me oftener than you write to me. Let us but continue in prayer,

> 'And mountains rise, and oceans roll,
> To sever us in vain.'

I frequently find profit in thinking of you, and should be glad if we had more opportunities of conversing together. If a contrary thought arises, take knowledge from whom it comes. You may judge, by the fruit of it; for it weakens your hands, and slackens you from being instant in prayer. I am inclined to think I found the effect of your prayer at my very entrance into this kingdom — Ireland.

And here, especially, we have need of every help, for snares are on every side. Who would not, if it could be done with a clear conscience, run out of the world, wherein the very gifts of God, the work of God, yea, his grace itself, in some sense, are all the occasion of temptation? I hope your little family remains in peace and love, and that your own soul prospers. I doubt only whether you are so useful as you might be. But herein look to the anointing which you have of God, being willing to follow where he leads, and it shall teach you of all things." In another letter he says: "I advise you, as I did Grace Walton formerly, 1, *pray* in private or public as much as you can; 2, even in public, you may properly enough intermix *short exhortations* with prayer. But keep as far from what is called *preaching* as you can. Therefore never take a text. Never speak in a continued discourse, without some break, above four or five minutes. Tell the people, 'We shall have another *prayer-meeting*, at such a time and place.'"

She wrote, at Wesley's request, an account of her Christian experience. Like her friend Sarah Ryan, she complains of the frivolity of her early life—her passionate love of "singing, dancing, playing at cards, and all kinds of diversions." Her religious awakening was profound, and her conversion, about her twentieth year, peculiarly joyful. But she sub-

sequently passed through deep waters of trial. "I know not," she writes, "that for several years after I knew the Lord, I was ever a day together without being tempted; and the inward conflicts I endured day and night, added to outward labors and continued abstinence, weakened my body and hurt my constitution much." Clearer light, attained by maturer experience, relieved these sufferings. "I now perceived," she adds, "that God had restrained the tempter, and began to inquire what condemnation there was in my soul. There is no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus. How is it that, in all that I have suffered, I have not felt the least inclination to turn back from the path of life, or entertained one hard thought of God? I then appealed to him, 'Lord, dost thou not know that all my aims and intentions are upright before thee?' and I felt a witness in myself that it was so. I further thought, Has not Jesus Christ bore all my sins in his own body on the tree? If so, has he not answered for all my deviations from the perfect law of God too? Then God cannot be *merciful and just and send my soul to hell; I shall never go there!* I now felt my soul fully cast on the Lord Jesus, and found a rest which before I had not known, while peace and love filled my heart. The day after, at church, the Lord showed me that many things which I had thought were sins were only

temptations, and also what a little thing it was for him to take the root of sin out of my heart. I feared to believe he had done it; but the next day I could not help believing that God had taken full possession of my heart; for although I felt myself weaker than ever, yet the Lord was my strength. Day and night I was amazed at the blessed change my soul had experienced; but I said nothing to any one, because I was not, as yet, sure what the Lord had done for me. I had always promised, if the Lord would but fully save me, I would declare his goodness, although I believed it would expose me to various exercises, both from ministers and people. I now prayed much that God would show me if he had taken away the root of sin out of my heart; and also, if I had been saved from sin in the temptations that were past. And he showed me that as 'many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it;' so neither had these floods of temptations, which he had brought me through, quenched the love he had given me to himself, for it was love that never faileth. I was now exceeding happy, yet I prayed if any further witness was necessary the Lord would give it me. Soon after, the glory of the Lord shone around me. I saw by faith the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ; and now I was assured of the Father's love. The Spirit then powerfully spoke to

my soul, saying, 'I will dwell in thee forever.' I said in my heart, 'There is no fear in love; perfect love casteth out fear.' Frequently the Lord assures me he will manifest himself more fully than he has yet done. This I am waiting for." Such reflections, however mystical they may seem to any of us, would have delighted St. John "the Divine."

After the removal of Mary Fletcher to Madeley as the wife of its rector, Sarah Crosby devoted herself quite exclusively to public Christian labor, traveling from place to place and holding meetings under the sanction of Wesley. She had begun public speaking involuntarily. "I expected," she says, "to meet about thirty persons in class; but, to my great surprise, there came near two hundred; I found an awful, loving sense of the Lord's presence, and was much affected both in body and mind. I was not sure whether it was right for me to exhort in so public a manner, and yet I saw it impracticable to meet all these people by way of speaking particularly to each individual. I therefore gave out a hymn, and prayed, and told them part of what the Lord had done for myself, persuading them to flee from all sin."

Her journals show that in a single year she traveled nine hundred and sixty miles to hold two hundred and twenty public meetings, and about six hundred select meetings, besides writing one hundred and sixteen letters, many of them long

ones, and holding many conversations in private, with individuals who wished to consult her on religious subjects.

In her old age she continued her labors as her strength would allow. Miss Tripp, her associate at Mary Fletcher's home, was still her sympathizing and helpful companion. When nearly seventy years old she wrote, "My soul in general dwells in peace and love. I live by faith in Jesus, my precious Saviour, and find my last days are my best days. I am surrounded with mercies. My dearest friend, Sister Tripp's care and kindness to me is not the least. May God reward her, and never let her want a friend to assist her in her weakness, if I should be first called home, as it is most likely I shall." Her old friend was to see her safe "through the gates into the city." She writes, that "all the week preceding her death she was indisposed, but did not abate anything of her usual exercises. Her spirit often seemed on the wing, for she frequently sung more than she had done for some months; so that I said, 'I think, my dear, you have tuned your harp afresh.' On Saturday she wrote two letters, went to the select band in the evening, and bore a blessed testimony for her Lord. On Sunday, though poorly, she attended preaching forenoon and evening; but returned, after the evening meeting, very ill, and in much pain. During the night she prayed for her

classes, bands, friends, and the Church of God, that they all might meet above. A little before she ex-expired she said to one who was present, 'If I had strength, how I would praise the Lord!' But at eight o'clock, having closed her own eyes and mouth, she sweetly fell asleep in Jesus, October 24, 1804, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. So composed was her countenance, that when dead not the least trace of death was discernible on it."

By the side of the names of Fletcher and his wife, on the tomb at Madeley, is, as we have seen, a memorial of SARAH LAWRENCE, a name sacredly associated also with the useful labors of Mary Fletcher, The latter conducted her with maternal care through her whole Christian course, and having seen her enter safely into her eternal rest, wrote a brief sketch of her life. "Sarah Lawrence," she says, "was the niece of my friend Sarah Ryan. Providence cast her into our hands when a little child. As she increased in years we observed a remarkably upright, obedient spirit in her, and a great attachment to us. When very young, she would often cry to the Lord, with great earnestness, that she might never be separated from me. Before she was eight years old she was often under strong convictions of sin. When she was about ten years of age, she found a strong desire to be devoted to God: and when she heard us read in the family of

the sufferings of our Lord, or of the martyrs, it would kindle in her breast an intense desire to suffer something for him who had borne so much for her. When about sixteen, conviction of sin was fastened on her mind more deeply; and I have heard her tell with what earnest cries and tears she used to wrestle with the Lord that he would make her a Christian indeed, and join her to his people here and hereafter. When near eighteen she was taken into the society, and the June following she went to the Leeds Old Church to be confirmed. She walked home again alone, about five miles, and all the way was pleading with the Lord, that she might never grow slack; when she got near home, the word came to her with much power, '*I will keep thee as the apple of mine eye.*' This filled her soul with delight and consolation, now firmly believing she should be made a true child of God. Soon after this she obtained a clear sense of the forgiveness of her sins. And soon after she saw it her privilege to be cleansed from all sin. The way in which she obtained this blessing shall be given in her own words: 'One Wednesday night, December 30th, 1778, in that blessed meeting we used to have once a fortnight at Cross Hall, where so many were blessed, while I was waiting on the Lord, and saw myself as lying at the pool longing for the Lord to say, *Be clean*, my soul was engaged in fervent

prayer that I might that night be brought into clear liberty; and while my dear mistress (Miss Bosanquet) was praying, several promises were applied to my mind, such as, '*Thou art clean through the word I have spoken unto thee*,' etc. I now felt unbelief give way, and was enabled to cast my soul on the perfect atonement, and felt the divine efficacy of that blood which cleanseth from all sin. From that night I felt a great change, and began to walk much more closely with God than I had done before. That which I enjoyed in justification was precious, but this far exceeded. Now I could begin the new year with a new heart; and so powerfully did the love of God fill and enlarge my soul, that I was constrained many times to cry out in the fullness thereof, '*Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.*' I could truly say, 'All slavish fear is gone; I have but one fear, to displease that gracious God who hath done so much for me.' A visible concern arose in her mind, more forcible than ever, for the souls of the people, and in particular of those of the rising generation. And such a gift was then given her for children, as I have hardly seen in any one, and a love like that of a parent. Next, the sick were laid on her heart, and she ran far and near to seek and to relieve them, both in soul and body, insomuch that it greatly broke her little strength, which was always but small.

"I have been humbled to the dust," continues Mrs. Fletcher, "at the ardent zeal and diligent application wherewith she sought after the good of her fellow-creatures. For reproving sin, and inviting to the means of grace, few could equal her. Here I did indeed see that the spirit of my dear Mr. Fletcher seemed to rest on her; and, like him, she began a meeting in a very hardened part of the parish, with a bell in her hand. She was brought to shed tears over them many times, when, going from door to door, she entreated them to come, and in return met with only reproach and rudeness. But that was nothing to her, who sought no honor but from God. Sometimes Satan would represent how ridiculous she appeared in their eyes, and when strangers passed by in carriages they would think her mad. But as the means she used had been instrumental in calling some, and had been blessed to many, as well as prevented much sin, she rejoiced to have the honor of being thought a fool for Christ; and she has told me that it seemed she could with pleasure submit to be bound to a stake and burned, if it might draw these souls to choose the way of life. Indeed, her whole soul seemed to be drawn out after the salvation of all around her. She began meetings in different places, at which numbers attended. Her method was, after singing and prayer, to read some life or experience, or some

awakening author, stopping now and then to explain and apply it as the Lord gave her utterance; and several, who are now lively members in our connection, were brought in through that means. But in every step she took she inquired of the Lord, fearing much to take one out of his order. I could never discern in her any spirit but that of the most perfect deadness to the world, and such a submission to crosses of every kind as augured to me that her will was entirely lost in that of God. About two weeks before she died, after suffering much, one night, from her cough and other complaints, she observed, 'What a sweet night I have had in the love of God! Such nearness to Jesus, such willingness to suffer with him did I feel, that I praised the Lord for every fit of coughing.' On Wednesday, December 3, 1800, her happy spirit took its flight to feast with Jesus's priests and kings."

Such are examples of the womanly piety which distinguished Methodism, and gathered, in a radiant constellation, around the saintly Mary Fletcher. It was with such "devout women" that much, most indeed, of Wesley's epistolary correspondence was held. They afforded him the most consolatory Christian sympathy of his long and laborious life. They were among the most consolatory proofs of the divinity of the great revival he was conducting through proscription and persecution, and through mobs

which sometimes marked his course over the United Kingdom with tumults little short of civil war. They were also among its most effective agents, for in almost every considerable Society of the country were raised up similar elect ladies, angels of the Churches, to conduct its female "classes" and "bands," and not unfrequently to conduct more public services. The list is too large for enumeration here, but some conspicuous examples must claim our further attention.

CHAPTER III.

FURTHER NOTICES OF WESLEYAN WOMEN.

Lady Fitzgerald—Her Sufferings—Her Good Works—Her Death by Fire — Hester Ann Rogers — Her Early Life — Her Conversion — She witnesses Wesley's Death—Her own Death—Elizabeth Ritchie (Mrs. Mortimer)—Her Intimate Relations with Wesley—Mysticism — Her Usefulness — She resides with Wesley — Her Death — Lady Maxwell — Her Co-operation with Wesley — Her Death — Grace Murray—Her Character and Usefulness—Wesley in Love with her — His Disappointment — His Interview with her in Extreme Age —His Unfortunate Marriage with Mrs. Vizelle — Dinah Evans, the Heroine of a Novel — Sketch of her Life and Character — An Account of Elizabeth Wallbridge, the Dairyman's Daughter.

A FEW months before the death of Mary Fletcher died one of her friends, who was one of the few of noble rank whom Methodism had rescued from the irreligion of the fashionable life of the day, and who was mourned with sincere affection by the Wesleyan community. LADY MARY FITZGERALD had seen a large circle of her aristocratic kindred wrecked by the vices of the times. Few families of the nobility presented in that day more melancholy examples of moral self-ruin. Three of her brothers were successively Earls of Bristol; one became infamous by his domestic life, another died in dishonor, a deposed bishop. One of her own sons, carried away by the

tide of aristocratic profligacy, shot his coachman, and was publicly hanged. Her husband sunk under the tide of the prevalent corruption, and she was compelled to seek the protection of the law against his vices. Lady Mary was the daughter of John, Lord Hervey, and granddaughter of John, Earl of Bristol; her high position in society, and at court as Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Princess Amelia Sophia, gave her ample means of estimating the hollow life and moral wretchedness of the fashionable world. In the prime of her days she turned from the glittering scene to the devout men and women, Calvinistic and Arminian, who, under the common title of Methodists, were attempting to recall the country to better views of its acknowledged faith. She joined one of Wesley's societies, became a correspondent of Venn, Fletcher, Brackenbury, and other leaders of the Methodist movement, and an ornament to the circle of "elect ladies" which gathered around Wesley and the Countess of Huntingdon. During the visit of Fletcher and his wife to Dublin, she was a guest with them at the same hospitable house, and their friendship was terminated only by death. At the division between the Arminian and Calvinistic Methodists she adhered to Wesley, and notwithstanding her exalted rank, lived and died one of the most exemplary members of the Connection. An eminent divine of the Establishment says that she joined

herself to the company of the most excellent Christians of whom she could hear, and became "a com panion of all them that fear God and keep his righteous judgments;" that she "walked in newness of life," from "newness of spirit;" and a new creed, a new circle of acquaintance, and attendance on places of worship of a new description, constituted but a very small part even of her outward change; that the employment of her whole time and of her wealth, her conduct and converse in all the relations of life, and toward persons of all ranks and characters, were totally altered; that as far as her situation in the attendance of a princess would permit, everything splendid or expensive was wholly renounced; all the pomp and decorations attached to her rank were given up, and a style of simplicity adopted, in all particulars, far beyond what is usual among inferior professors of the same holy truths, indeed even more than in most instances would be desirable; but in her case the entire consistency of her conduct prevented all possibility of misconception. "From the time when I first had the honor and pleasure of becoming acquainted with her," adds this authority, "she was, in my judgment, as dead to the world and everything in it as any person with whom I ever conversed." *

* Rev. Thomas Scott, who preached and published her funeral sermon. Extracts are given in the Meth. Mag., 1815, p. 522

Like her friend at Madeley she abounded in alms. She retrenched all superfluous expenses, and her whole income, above her own necessities, was devoted to the poor and to religious charities. She is described as "indeed harmless and blameless," "without rebuke," "shining as a light in the world, as even they allowed who were by no means favorable to her religious sentiments; an example of meekness, affection, and propriety of conduct in all the relations of life, so that 'they who were of the contrary part had no evil thing to say of her.'" The same writer speaks of the influence of her religious conversation as singularly impressive, and says, "Indeed I scarcely ever experienced such an effect from any book or sermon however excellent. There was, as it appeared to me, a sort of heavenly atmosphere around her." "I have known this excellent lady," wrote another of her friends, "above twenty years, and never saw her superior in humility, charity, and entire devotedness to God. Her conversation, her thoughts, her affections were in heaven." She remained, to an extreme age, an admirable example of the elder Methodism, and loved it and its founder so ardently as to order, in her will, that her corpse should be interred in the City Road Chapel burying-ground, among the dead who were endeared to her by associations more precious than those which belonged to the sepulchres

of her titled kindred. Benson, the Methodist commentator, visited her a short time before her death. "She is now become," he wrote, "exceeding feeble, sinking fast into the grave. But her faculties do not seem much, if any, impaired, save her hearing, which is very imperfect; and the graces of God's Spirit, especially humility, resignation, and patience, are in lively exercise. She is evidently ripening fast for glory; and I doubt not, whenever she is called, will change mortality for life. Happy was the choice she made when she gave up the gay world and the pleasures of a court for the cross and the reproach of Christ." She died a painful but blessed death. On the eighth of April, 1815, when she was nearly ninety years old, her clothes caught fire, and her servants, hastening to her, found her wrapped in flames. She lingered till the next day with a faith which triumphed over her agonies. "I might as well go home this way as any other," she said to her family. Her last words were, "Come, Lord Jesus! my blessed Redeemer, come and receive my spirit." A monument,* placed by her family in City Road Chapel, commemorates her virtues, and testifies to the Methodists of our day the fidelity of this high-

* This monument adorns the southeast corner of City Road Chapel. It was erected as a "tribute of affection and veneration by her grandson, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas George Fitzgerald." See Raithby Hall: Memorial Sketches of Robert Carr Brackenbury, Esq., by Mrs. Richard Smith, p. 64. London, 1859.

born lady to their cause, in the times when their name was an epithet of reproach and scorn.

The name of HESTER ANN ROGERS is historical and saintly in the early annals of Methodism. For more than half a century her "Memoirs," notwithstanding some marked defects, have had a salutary influence on the spiritual life of the denomination, especially among her own sex. She was born in Macclesfield, England, in 1756. When only about nine years old she lost her pious father; but his peaceful death left an indelible impression on her mind. "As he was crossing the narrow stream he called his little daughter's name aloud, and when she went to him he took her hand in his, pressing it most affectionately, and said, 'My dear Hetty, you look dejected. You must not let your spirits be cast down. God has ever cared for me, and he will take care of mine. He will bless you, my dear, when I am gone. I hope you will be a good child, and then you will be happy.' Then, laying his hand on her head, he lifted his eyes to heaven, and said, with the utmost solemnity, 'Unto God's gracious mercy and protection I commit thee: the Lord bless and keep thee; the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace, and make thee his child and faithful servant to thy life's end." * Her habitual seriousness induced her family to send her to

* Rev. J. B. Wakeley: "Excellent Women," etc.

parties and balls to divert her attention from religious subjects. The expedient was effectual, and she records that she lost her interest in divine things, and became the gayest of the gay, addicted to society, to extravagant dress, to romances and novels. Her prejudice against the Methodists was excessive, but on hearing one of their devoted itinerants her early religious interest revived. She was now tried by the severest tests. Her mother threatened to disown her, and most of her friends to forsake her if she persisted in hearing the itinerants. "She had no acquaintance with a single Methodist, and was about to be turned out of doors, and had no other home. She counted the cost, weighed the issues, and concluded to attend to the salvation of the soul if every friend on earth forsook her. She deliberately resolved, at all hazards, to hear the Methodists preach every time she had an opportunity. Their preaching was made a great blessing to her. But the fearful storm of persecution arose, and beat upon her defenseless head. Her mother was enraged, and would have turned her out of doors had it not been for the interposition of her pious uncle. 'What I suffered,' she says, 'is known only to God.' There are untold sorrows, unwritten sufferings. For eight weeks they kept her in close confinement at home to prevent her attending Methodist preaching. Some time after she reasoned

with her mother, and entreated her not to confine her any more, telling her she must seek the salvation of her soul, no matter what the consequence. She informed her mother that she was determined to leave home, and hire herself out as a servant, rather than be deprived of the privilege of worshiping with the Methodists. She had never been accustomed to hard labor, and yet she told her mother that, if she preferred, she would be her servant, and do all the work of the house, if she could only be permitted to attend Methodist preaching. After consultation with friends, her mother agreed to this. For eight months the frail young woman cheerfully did the work of a menial, till her health failed, and the physician protested against thus sacrificing her life. Her constitution was broken, and she never fully recovered."

It was under such sufferings that Methodism led her into the path of life, where she found the "peace that passeth understanding." Even her mother "wondered and wept" at the narration of her new experience, and the radiant joy of her new life. She studied intelligently the Methodistic teachings on Christian perfection, and through the remainder of her life was one of the brightest examples of this doctrine that the modern Church has afforded. In her twentieth year the aged Wesley visited Macclesfield, and then was formed that intimate

and beautiful friendship which ended only when, as she knelt at his bedside, he departed to the Church triumphant. Their correspondence began almost immediately after he left Macclesfield. His published works include fifteen of his letters addressed to her under her maiden name as Hester Ann Roe. In the course of this correspondence he says, "Everything relating to you nearly concerns me. I once thought I could not be well acquainted with any one till many years had elapsed, and yet I am as well acquainted with you as if I had known you from your infancy. You now are my comfort and joy. And I hope you will be far longer than this little span of life."

Wesley promoted her marriage, in 1784, with James Rogers, one of his most effective preachers, of whom she wrote, in later years, "The Lord gave me a helpmate for glory, just such a partner as my weakness needed to strengthen me." After her death he wrote of her as one of the best wives "that man was ever united to;" that in the affections and services of her relation to him she had "seldom been equaled, never exceeded." Her Christian labors in England and Ireland were hardly less useful than his own. As she was an exemplary witness of the Methodist teachings respecting Christian perfection, Fletcher, of Madeley, found in her religious conversation and correspondence aid and

consolation to his own sanctified spirit. Being in her company on one occasion, he took her by the hand, after hearing her remarks on this subject, and said: "Glory be to God! for you, my sister, still bear a noble testimony for your Lord. Do you repent your confession of his salvation?" She answered, "Blessed be God, I do not." When departing he again took her by the hand, saying, with eyes and heart uplifted, "Bless her, heavenly Power!" "It seemed," she writes, "as if an instant answer was given, and a beam of glory let down! I was filled with deep humility and love; yea, my whole soul overflowed with unutterable sweetness." This hallowed and happy temper marked her whole Christian life. She was a class-leader, and sometimes had charge of three of these weekly meetings, which devolved upon her the spiritual care of nearly a hundred members. Like many other early Methodist women, she addressed public meetings. Her discourses were remarkable for their good sense and quiet moral power. Her prayers were especially significant and impressive; "the divine unction which attended them, added to the manner in which she pleaded for instantaneous blessings, was," says her biographer, "very extraordinary, and felt by all present."

Wesley was seventy-three years old when he first met her, and always treated her as a daughter. Bow-

ing at last under infirmities, he wished her Christian and womanly ministries in his own household, and in 1790, less than a year before his death, appointed her husband to City Road Chapel, London, which placed them in his adjacent parsonage. She describes this home as a paradise, but in less than half a year she was to lose its venerable patriarch. She was by his bedside during the solemn and sublime hours of that parting scene. "The solemnity," she writes, "of the dying hour of that great and good man I believe will be ever written on my heart. A cloud of the divine presence rested on all; and while he could hardly be said to be an inhabitant of earth, being now speechless, and his eyes fixed, victory and glory were written on his countenance, and quivering, as it were, on his dying lips. No language can paint what appeared in that face! The more we gazed upon it the more we saw of heaven unspeakable!"

In three or four years after Wesley's departure she rejoined him in heaven. Her death was full of pathetic beauty, though attended by the saddest anguish of her sex. After giving birth to her fifth child, "she lay composed for more than half an hour, with heaven in her countenance, praising God for his great mercy, and expressing her gratitude to all around her." She took her husband's hand, and said, "My dear, the Lord has been very kind to us;

O he is good, he is good! But I'll tell you more by and by." In a few minutes afterward her whole frame was thrown into a state of agitation and agony. After a severe struggle for about fifteen minutes, bathed with a clammy, cold sweat, she laid her head on his bosom, and said, "I am going." Subduing his alarm, "Is Jesus precious?" he asked. "Yes, yes; O yes," she replied. He added: "My dearest love, I know Jesus Christ has long been your all in all; can you now tell us he is so?" "I can—he is—yes—but I am not able to speak." He again said, "O my dearest, it is enough." She then attempted to lift up her face to his, and kissed him with her quivering lips and last breath. She died in 1794, aged thirty-nine years, during twenty of which she had walked continually with God, "in white."

Not so well known, but equally intimate with Wesley, and the witness of his last hour, was ELIZABETH RITCHIE, later Mrs. Mortimer. She closed his eyes after his departure. He left her his gold seal and other mementoes. The narrative of his last days, which has passed into history, was from her pen. Twenty-two of his published letters are addressed to her; their correspondence began about two years before that of Hester Ann Rogers with him, and when Miss Ritchie was but twenty years old. She was the associate and habitual correspond

ent of Ladies Fitzgerald and Maxwell, Mary Fletcher, Hester Ann Rogers, and indeed of most of the eminent women of the Methodism of the last century. She was of a good family, had considerable culture, but was given to the gayeties of life, and was especially opposed to the rigorous teachings of Methodism. "But," she writes, "my poor mind, like Noah's dove, could find no rest." She found at last the longed-for peace in "coming out from the world," and casting her lot in with the humble people whom she had despised. She became one of the most devoted examples of their strict but cheerful discipline, a model of that "sanctified" life which they taught, a leader of her sex in their societies, and like her friends, Hester Ann Rogers, Mary Fletcher, and Sarah Crosby, a conductor of social religious services. She accompanied Wesley occasionally in his visits to various parts of the United Kingdom, and co-operated with him in effective labors. Wesley took special care to guide such devoted and fervid minds, especially in their aspirations after the highest spiritual life. Few, if any, of the saintly women noted in early Methodism were marred by the weaknesses of Mysticism; he not only guarded them by prudent counsels, but perhaps more effectually by giving an habitually practical direction to their zeal and energies. "The word of the Lord to *you* is," he wrote to Eliza-

beth Ritchie, "'Feed my lambs.' Methinks I see you giving yourself up, as far as possibly you can, to that blessed work, carrying the weak, as it were, in your bosom, and gently leading the rest to the waters of comfort. Meantime your own soul will enjoy a well of water, springing up into everlasting life." Again he says: "Some time since you certainly were in danger of exchanging the plain religion of the Bible for the refined one of Mysticism; a danger which few can judge of but those that feel it. This my brother and I did for several years. This scheme (especially as Madam Guion has polished and improved it) gives a delicate satisfaction to whatever of curiosity and self-esteem lies hid in the heart. It was particularly liable to make an impression upon *you*, as it came recommended by one you had a friendship for, whom you knew to be upright and sincere, and who had both sense and a pleasing address. At the same time that subtle enemy, 'who beguiled Eve by his subtlety,' would not fail to enforce the temptation. The more reason you have to bless God that you are delivered out of the snare of the fowler."

In one of her letters to him she says: "You ask whether I am fully employed for my good Master. When I would attempt to answer, my spirit sinks into confusion at his adorable feet, conscious how little I am capable of doing for him. Thus far, how-

ever, I can say: In all I do his glory is my aim; and so graciously does he deal with me, that, when I am called to serve with Martha's hands, I feel a Mary's heart; and when engaged more immediately in his blessed service, it is my delight. I remain your unworthy child." After she had traveled and labored some years among the societies, Wesley, about to die, urged her to enter his household at City Road Chapel, whither Hester Ann Rogers had recently come. They with similar women had been, as we have seen, among his chief comforters and counselors during his long career. He wished his last days to be consoled with their converse and sympathies. "Believing," she writes, "it to be my providential path, I entered on my new engagement, and found sufficient business on my hands. The preacher who had usually read to Mr. Wesley being absent, he said to me, 'Betsey, you must be eyes to the blind.' I therefore rose with pleasure about half past five o'clock, and generally read to him from six till breakfast time. Sometimes he would converse freely, and say, 'How good is the Lord to bring you to me when I want you most! I should wish you to be with me in my dying moments: I would have you to close my eyes.' When the fullness of my heart did not prevent reply, I have said, 'This, my dear sir, I would willingly do; but you live such a flying life, I do not well see how it is to be accomplished.'

He would close the conversation by adding, 'Our God does all things well; we will leave it in his hands.' During the two months I passed under his roof, which proved to be the last he spent on earth, I derived much pleasure from his conversation. His spirit seemed all love; he breathed the air of paradise, adverting often to the state of separate spirits. 'Can we suppose,' he would observe, 'that this active mind, which animates and moves the dull matter with which it is clogged, will be less active when set free? Surely no; it will be all activity. But what will be its employments? Who can tell?' I was greatly profited during this season. My hands were full; but I felt the light of the divine approbation shining on my path, which rendered easy many painful things I met with. Indeed I felt it quite a duty to let Mr. Wesley want no attention I could possibly pay him: I loved him with a grateful and affectionate regard, as given by God to be my guide, my spiritual father, and my dearest friend; and was truly thankful to be assured that those attentions were made comforts to him."

Her health suffered by her grief for Wesley's death. "I set off for Madeley," she says; "my spirits were much affected on leaving London, especially the chapel-house. Life is a vapor; all, all on earth is shadow. Blessed be God, I hasten to a world where all is substance!" In the consecrated parsonage at Made-

ley she found consolation with Mary Fletcher and Lady Mary Fitzgerald. In a short time she resumed her visitations and labors among the societies. One who witnessed them says: "As a ministering angel she goes about doing good to the bodies and the souls of her fellow-creatures. She has a rare talent; an equal capacity for usefulness in spiritual and temporal things; a ready hand for all the concerns of life, while her spirit soars aloft, often enjoys intimate union with God, and free admittance into his presence, and worships there in silent awe, reverence, and love. Her deportment operates upon my mind at present as a reproof for not having made the best use of life, and the best of my way to heaven. She has traveled on, I apprehend, from the beginning without stopping or staying in all the plain, and has proceeded far on her way to quiet resting places and sure dwellings in his love, and is walking in that highway of holiness where no lion or ravenous beast shall come."

She had declined an overture of marriage in early life that she might devote herself entirely to Christian labors; but in her forty-seventh year the offer was repeated by the same estimable gentleman, Harvey W. Mortimer, Esq. It was accepted, and proved a blessing to her remaining life. It gave her a permanent residence in London, where she had ample scope for her talents and zeal in the numerous

societies of Methodism. She survived all her early Methodist associates till near the year 1835, when, weary with age and infirmity, she tranquilly entered into her eternal rest. When death was near she meditated much on the last topic of her conversations with Wesley, reunion with departed saints. "I cannot express," she said, "how I exult in the anticipation of soon rejoining those friends from whom I have been separated here below; yet it seems strange that, although so near to the world of spirits, I cannot see them." It was observed that "that world was now visible to the eye of faith alone; but she would soon drop the vail, and faith would be exchanged for sight. Now she was saved by hope, then she would be admitted to realize in full fruition her anticipated heaven." Holy joy illumined her sweet and venerable, but emaciated countenance, and spoke entire assent to what had been advanced.

Her friend and correspondent Darcy, LADY MAXWELL, is one of the most frequent names in early Methodism, and her memoirs continue to be one of its most instructive biographies; "a book," says Southey, "which shows more of high enthusiastic devotion, unmingled and undebased, than is to be found in any other composition of the kind." She was active with Lady Huntingdon in the joint labors of Calvinistic and Arminian Methodists. She early encouraged the famous Rowland Hill by appointing him

to preach at her chapel at Hotwells. She encouraged the Wesleyan preachers in Scotland when, after the Calvinistic controversy, they were generally discountenanced by even the devout portions of the Kirk.

She had suffered much. Bereaved of her husband by death in her nineteenth year, and of her only child four weeks later, she was never known afterward to mention the name of either, but turned with a broken heart from the world to seek consolation in a holy life, and the hope of that day when "the dead shall come forth." She found in Methodism a standard of piety which met the demands of her awakened conscience, and afforded the comfort which her afflictions needed. She has recorded, that had it not been for the Methodists she probably should never have known the consolations in religion which she had attained, for no other teachers around her had fully taught them, and it is seldom, she remarks, that we go beyond our teachers. She lived and died an intelligent, modest, but decided witness for the Methodist teachings respecting Christian perfection. She survived till 1810, and died the oldest member of the society. It was by the aid of this noble woman that Wesley was able to erect his noted Kingswood School. When he first mentioned the design to her, she put into his hands five hundred pounds toward it; and on learning, some time afterward, that it was indebted three hundred pounds, she

forthwith gave him the entire amount, and her donations were conferred with a delicacy which gave a grace to her liberality. She was the representative woman of Methodism in Scotland for many years. One of its preachers at Edinburgh says: "Among our friends and communicants we numbered the Hon. Miss Napier, sister of the then Lord High Commissioner, the Right Hon. Lady Helen Dalrymple, Lady Maxwell, and many others who, though not titled, were highly respectable. The superintendent, his wife, and colleagues, and several other persons, had the happiness of meeting in band with Lady Maxwell, once a week, at her own house. We then had the honor to dine with her ladyship, in company with such other ministers and people of various denominations, and from different parts of the world, as her ladyship chose to invite from week to week. After dinner we spent an hour or two in religious conversation, led chiefly by her ladyship, whose deep piety, dignified manners, benignity of temper, and extraordinary conversational powers I have never seen equaled from that day to this; nor do I expect to till I meet her among the spirits of the just made perfect in heaven. Such connections, while they tended greatly to the edification of all the parties, were also the means of promoting the usefulness of the preachers in the city and its vicinity; and though I would not undervalue the direct

influence of Methodism in Scotland, either in present or former times, yet I cannot avoid thinking that, at least in olden times, its indirect influence was great and salutary."

Wesley's printed correspondence gives sixteen of his letters to her. She was in habitual correspondence with many of the leading women of early Methodism, and after surviving most of them, died, like them, a blessed death in 1810. Her relative, Hon. Miss Napier, writing to Mrs. Mortimer, says: "She expired without a sigh, struggle, or groan, which was literally an answer to prayer. I had long been her selected and confidential friend, as well as her relation, and had lived under her roof for several years, so that to me this event is most mournful. But I am sensible that the change to her is so glorious that I ought to turn my tears into hymns of joy. God highly honored me in appointing me to the melancholy duty of attending her. Such a deathbed! It appeared like the verge of heaven; like waiting in the sanctuary, surrounded by angels and archangels; and above all, a place which the presence of God rendered sacred. There was never greater lamentation than has been made for her by all ranks of society. A funeral sermon was preached on the occasion of her death on Sunday evening in her free school, where she had educated nearly eight hundred children, who receive a regular course of education

for three years; and, when dismissed and fully taught, each gets a Bible. This school, by her settlement, is to exist while time shall last."

Few female characters in early Methodism have excited more interest than GRACE MURRAY, though the contemporary Methodist records give but occasional glimpses of her attractive image. It is a sufficient motive for this interest that she was dearer to Wesley than any other woman; that he fully gave her his heart; that their mutual but disappointed hope of consummating their affection by marriage has left a trait of romantic sentiment and sadness on the history of his remarkable life, usually supposed to have been too publicly active to admit of much play to the more personal affections. An English correspondent says: "Grace Murray was a young, beautiful, and well-educated widow. . . Mr. Wesley had employed this lady, who was as discreet as she was attractive, to perform the duty of visiting and organizing the female classes in the north of England. When engaged in this work Mrs. Murray itinerated on horseback, and frequently without any companion. An old man told Dr. Bunting how one day he saw her, at a place in Yorkshire, come forth to the door of a house to take her departure. A servant brought round her steed. She gave a glance to see that all was right, then laid her hand on her horse's shoulder. The well-trained

animal immediately knelt down. The lady, who suffered no man to help her in mounting, seated herself lightly on the saddle, and, as in an instant, she was out of sight; and the old man, Mr. Bunting tells us, saw her no more, 'except in dreams.' Jabez Bunting preached the funeral sermon of Grace Murray at Chapel-en-le-Frith, in Derbyshire, in the year 1803." Moore, Wesley's biographer, gives us a few more details of her life. He says: "The person on whom Mr. Wesley's affections were placed was in every respect worthy of them. Miss Grace Norman, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was married at a very early age to Mr. Alexander Murray, of a respectable family in Scotland. He was an affectionate husband, and his kind attentions were repaid by the affectionate attachment of his wife; but they were both at that time totally insensible to the happiness of religion. After some time she was awakened by the powerful preaching of that day, and immediately began to fulfill her baptismal vow. She renounced the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, in which they had both delighted, and became the devoted servant of the Lord that bought her. This change gave her husband great pain, and for some time she suffered a degree of real persecution from him. He even threatened to confine her in a madhouse. Her gentle and affectionate behavior in some measure overcame this evil; but his death at sea,

which happened not long after, almost overwhelmed her. She was, however, strengthened by divine grace to submit to this afflictive bereavement, and it was sanctified, in a remarkable manner, to her furtherance and growth in grace.

"After the death of her husband Mrs. Murray returned to Newcastle; and when Mr. Wesley formed a family connected with his chapel in that town, he appointed her to be the housekeeper. Mr. Wesley had three houses which he accounted his own, one at London, another at Bristol, and a third at Newcastle; to all others he had only the power to appoint the preachers. These houses might be called Religious Houses; the housekeepers were persons eminent for piety. The itinerant preachers in the western, northern, and middle counties occasionally visited these establishments, and rested for a short space from their great labor. Mrs. Murray had now full employment in that way in which she delighted. In the town and in the country societies her labors of love, especially among the females, were remarkably owned of the Lord, and highly edifying. Mr. Wesley then enlarged her sphere, and she traveled through the northern counties to meet and regulate the female classes. She then, under his direction, visited Ireland, where she abounded in the same work of faith and love for several months; and though she never attempted to preach, her gifts were

much honored, and her 'name as ointment poured forth.' She returned by Bristol, and visited the societies in the southern and eastern counties, and rested again at Newcastle. Mr. Wesley, who knew all her proceedings, and greatly esteemed her labors, thought he had found a helpmeet for him. But while he indulged these pleasing prospects, in which he was encouraged by his highly valued friend, the Vicar of Shoreham, and others, they were dashed to pieces by the intelligence of Mrs. Murray's marriage, on the third day of October, 1749, at Newcastle, to Mr. John Bennet, one of the itinerant preachers, in the presence of Mr. Charles Wesley and Mr. Whitefield! The disappointment was a most severe one to Mr. Wesley, and perhaps the forgiveness and love which he manifested on that occasion was the highest proof of the power of the religion he possessed that he was ever called to exercise toward man. He continued to employ Mr. Bennet as before, and behaved to him with his usual kindness. That gentleman, however, became still more intimate with Mr. Whitefield, adopted his sentiments, and at length publicly separated from Mr. Wesley at Bolton, in Lancashire, on April 3, 1752. He afterward settled, as a Dissenting minister, at Warburton, in Cheshire, where he died on the 24th of May, 1759."

In a document attributed to Wesley he says of Grace Murray: "We passed several months together

in Ireland. I saw the work of God prosper in her hands: she lightened my burden more than can be expressed. She examined all the women in the smaller societies and the believers in every place. She settled all the women-bands, visited the sick, prayed with the mourners, more and more of whom received remission of sins during her conversations or prayers. Meantime she was to me both a servant and friend, as well as a fellow-laborer in the Gospel. She provided everything I wanted. She told me with all faithfulness and freedom if she thought anything amiss in my behavior, and (what I never saw in any other to this day) she knew how to reconcile the utmost plainness of speech with such deep esteem and respect as I often trembled at, not thinking it was due to any creature, and to join with the most exquisite modesty a tenderness not to be expressed. The more we conversed together the more I loved her, and before I returned from Ireland we contracted by a contract *de præsenti.* I perceived she was such a person as I had in vain sought for many years, and then determined never to part with. I told her this, but told her withal, 'I could not as yet proceed any further, because I could do nothing without consulting my brother, as he had done nothing without consulting me.' She answered, 'It was so great a blessing that she knew not how to believe it; it seemed all as a

dream.' From this time I looked upon her as my own, and resolved that nothing but death should part us."

In a sketch of her life by herself she attributes her first effectual religious impressions to the death of her child. "As I looked," she says, "at her, laid out upon the table, the thoughts of death seized strongly upon me. This was followed by a strange lowness of spirits. Everything looked dark and gloomy. I could take pleasure in nothing, nor could any company divert me. My sister strove to divert me as much as she could, but it was all in vain. At last I told her, 'I think it is my soul;' at which she broke out in amazement: 'Nay, if your soul is not safe, who have lived so harmless, what will become of me?' But notwithstanding all she could say or do, my heaviness increased more and more. While I was in this state, a young woman sent to me one day to ask if I would go with her to 'hear Mr. Whitefield preach.' I gladly consented, and went with her to Blackheath. Several persons were sitting on the Mount, and singing. My heart was melted down as soon as I heard them, and I felt a sweetness I had never felt before. I looked up and wondered where I was. When Mr. W. came I thought there was something in his look which I had never seen. He preached on John iii, 8. I listened, and liked all I heard; but I understood it not. However, I found my heart

wholly drawn toward God, and I began to seek him with all my strength. I went to hear him again on the three following days, on the last of which he preached his farewell sermon. When he was gone away, in order to embark for Georgia, I was utterly disconsolate again. I wept much in secret; I walked up and down, but could find no comfort. I spent much time in the churchyard reading the inscriptions on the tombstones, and then standing and crying over my child's grave. My sister labored more than ever to divert me, fearing I should lose my senses. The next Saturday the young woman sent to me again to tell me that Mr. Wesley was come, and was to preach in the fields the next morning. I slept little that night. I rose at three, and about four set out, though I knew not where Moorfields was. I overtook a woman going thither, who showed me the way. When Mr. W. stood up, and looked round on the congregation, I fixed my eyes upon him, and felt an inexpressible conviction that he was sent of God. And when he spoke these words, 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God,' they went through me like a dart, and I cried out, 'Alas, what shall I do? How shall I be born again?' After the sermon, a young woman seeing me all in tears, asked, 'What is the matter with you?' I said, 'I don't know.' She said, 'I will tell you; the hammer of God's love

is breaking your heart; only follow on to know the Lord.' She spoke many other sweet words. I went home a mere sinner, now knowing what I wanted—an atonement for my sins."

As she sat one day with a female friend in her own house reading the fifth chapter of the Romans, "in a moment," she says, "all things became new. I seemed to have new eyes, and a new understanding. I saw all I read in a new light. My burden dropped off; my soul was in peace. My tears were all gone, and I said to her, 'Now I know God is my God, and he has forgiven my sins.' She replied, 'Then be sure you hold fast your confidence.' It was not long before I found her caution needful, it being strongly suggested, 'how could it be that God should forgive such a sinner?' This threw me into an agony of prayer, in which I had not continued long before I cried, 'Now I know God is *my God;* I know for Christ's sake he has forgiven me; I care not if all the devils in hell and all the men upon earth were to deny it.' I could not conceal what God had done. I went and told my sister, but she desired I would keep my madness to myself, and not make her mad too. Yet I could not refrain from declaring the goodness of God wherever I came, whether they would hear or forbear. I could even have gone into the streets to call sinners to repentance, and proclaim the Saviour of sinners. I had an insatiable thirst

for the salvation of all men, which constrained me to stop any loose women I met, and even to seek them at their houses, and beseech them to turn to God."

For three years she had charge of Wesley's parsonage, or preachers' house, at Newcastle. As reasons for his choice of her as a wife, he says: "As a housekeeper she has every qualification I desire. She understands all I want to have done. She is remarkably neat in person, in clothes, in all things. She is nicely frugal, yet not sordid. She has much common sense, contrives everything for the best, makes everything go as far as it can go, foresees what is wanting, and provides it in time; does all things quickly and yet without hurry. She is a good workwoman, able to do the finest, ready to do the coarsest work; observes my rules when I am absent as well as when I am present, and takes care that those about her observe them, yet seldom disobliges any of them. As a nurse, she is careful to the last degree, indefatigably patient, and inexpressibly tender. As a companion, she has good sense, and some knowledge both of men and books. She is of an engaging behavior, and of a mild, sprightly, cheerful, and yet serious temper. As a friend, she has been long tried and found faithful. She watches over me both in body and soul, understanding all my weaknesses, sympathizing with me, and helpful to me in all; never ashamed, never afraid; having a continual

presence of mind in all difficulties and dangers; in all, enabled to cover my head and strengthen my hands in God. Lastly, as a fellow-laborer in the Gospel of Christ, (the light wherein my wife is to be chiefly considered,) she has gifts, and, in a measure which I never found in any other, both grace and fruit. She is crucified unto the world; exemplarily chaste, modest, temperate, yet without any affectation. She is teachable and reprovable, gentle and long-suffering; eminently compassionate, weeping with those that weep; bearing my burdens, those of the preacher, and those of the people; zealous of good works, longing to spend and be spent for the glory of God and the good of men. She has a clear apprehension and a deep knowledge of the things of God; she is well acquainted with and exercised in our method of leading souls, having gone through all our little offices, and discharged them all entirely well. She has a ready utterance, a spirit of convincing as well as of persuasive speech, a winning address, an agreeable carriage in whatever company she is engaged. By means of all which she is exceedingly beloved almost wherever she goes, and is dear, in an uncommon manner, to great numbers of the people. I never yet heard or read of any woman so owned of God; so many have been convinced of sin in her bands and classes, and under her prayers. I particularly insist upon this: if ever I have a wife,

she ought to be the most careful woman in the kingdom, not barely one who probably may be so, (I could not be content to run such a hazard,) but one that undeniably is so. Now show me the woman in England, Wales, or Ireland who has done so much good as Grace Murray."*

Whitefield and Charles Wesley doubtless interfered in this unfortunate case from a conscientious belief that marriage would be a hinderance to the great career of their friend. Watson gives an extract from an unpublished letter of Wesley, which proves both how deeply he felt, and how resolutely he bore his disappointment. "The sons of Zeruiah were too strong for me. The whole world fought against me, but, above all, *my own familiar friend*, [Charles Wesley.] Then was the word fulfilled: 'Son of man, behold I take from thee the desire of thine eyes at a stroke, yet shalt thou not lament, neither shall thy tears run down.' The fatal, irrevocable stroke was struck on Thursday last. Yesterday I saw my friend, (that was,) and him to whom she is sacrificed. But why should a living man complain, a man for the punishment of his sins?" Jackson says that several letters of Wesley to his termagant wife, during his worst trials from her, show "the utmost tenderness of affection, such as few female

* "Narrative of a Remarkable Transaction," etc. See my notice of this work on p. 20.

hearts could have withstood, and justify the opinion that had it been his happiness to be married to a person who was worthy of him, he could have been one of the most affectionate husbands that ever lived. Those who think that he was constitutionally cold and repulsive utterly mistake his character."

Wesley's numerous published letters to female correspondents are the most characteristic of his writings; they are fervid with pure and delicate sentiment. This man who worked so mightily could also love intensely. He never deemed it necessary to record an apology for his affection for Grace Murray. All accounts of her show that she was worthy of him; that she possessed not only rare attractions of person and manners, but of heart. She combined an indefinable charm of character with extraordinary talents;* she not only formed and regulated many of his female classes in the north of England, but she traveled with him; and with womanly grace and modesty, as well as skillful ability, promoted among the women of Methodism the great work in which he was engaged. She reciprocated his affection for her, though with diffident surprise. "I esteemed," says Wesley, "and loved her more and more; and, when

* The biographer of Lady Huntingdon says, "She possessed superior personal accomplishments, united to a mind cultivated by education, and an imagination brilliant and lively in the highest degree."

I was a little recovered, I told her, sliding into it I know not how, 'If ever I marry, I think you will be the person.' After some time I spoke to her more directly. She seemed utterly amazed, and said, 'This is too great a blessing for me; I can't tell how to believe it. This is all I could have wished for under heaven, if I had dared to wish for it.'" We have seen how bitterly he felt his loss; and the relief which he sought in unslackened devotion to his great work is proof of his genuine greatness rather than of his want of sensibility. He kept the painful recollection locked in his own heart, never obtruding it in any of his subsequent published letters, except in one instance when he ministered relief to a Christian friend, in a similar sorrow, by referring to his own, the keenness of which he describes as extreme. He "saw his friend that was, and him to whom she was sacrificed," immediately after the sacrifice, but never again records an allusion to her except in the single instance mentioned, and a poetical account of her history and of his affection for her, which he kept sacredly during his life, but which was discovered and published by one of his biographers, a long, sad, heart-touching narrative, in which he dwells with minutest interest on every recollection of the case. Grace Murray survived till 1803. She rejoined the Methodists, after the death of her husband, was many

years a class-leader among them, and lived and died esteemed and beloved by them. Wesley pursued his career without once turning aside to reopen the wound in either heart by an interview. When eighty-five years old he allowed himself, however, the pleasure of a single conversation with her. She was in London, and expressed a wish to see him. Accompanied by Henry Moore, he called upon her. Though he "preserved more than his usual self-possession," the meeting, says Moore, was affecting. It did not continue long, and Moore never heard him mention her name afterward.

She was eighty-nine years old when she died; the manuscript of her funeral sermon by Bunting still remains; it records that "the day before she died she raised herself into a very solemn attitude, and, with most striking emphasis, delivered, in the following language, her dying testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus: 'I here declare it before you that I have looked on the right hand and on the left—I have cast my eyes before and behind—to see if there was any possible way of salvation but by the Son of God, and I am fully satisfied there is not. No; none on earth, nor all the angels in heaven, could have wrought out salvation for such a sinner. None but God himself, taking our nature upon him, and doing all that the Holy Law required, could have procured pardon for me, a sinner. He has

wrought out salvation for me, and I know that I shall enjoy it forever.'" Her last words were "Glory be to thee, my God, thou givest me peace!"

Wesley's disappointment in this case led to the severest trial of his life. With the advice of his friend and counselor, Perronet, of Shoreham, he married in 1752 Mrs. Vizelle, a widow lady of wealth, of intelligence, and of apparently every qualification necessary to render his home happy and exemplary. At his own instance, her ample property was secured, before the marriage, to herself and her children. She understood that he was not to abate his itinerant labors. He pursued them as usual, and in about two months after his marriage wrote in his journal: "I cannot understand how a Methodist preacher can answer it to God to preach one sermon or travel one day less in a married than in a single state. In this respect surely 'it remaineth that they who have wives be as though they had none.'" His wife traveled with him for some time, but soon very naturally grew dissatisfied with a life so restless and so incompatible with the tastes and convenience of her sex. Unwilling to travel herself, she became equally dissatisfied with her husband's habitual absence. Her discontent took at last the form of a monomaniacal jealousy. During twenty years she persecuted him with unfounded suspicions and intolerable annoyances, and

it is among the most admirable proofs of the genuine greatness of his character that his public career never wavered, never lost one jot of its energy or success, during this protracted domestic wretchedness. She repeatedly deserted him, but returned at his own earnest instance. She opened, interpolated, and then exposed to his enemies his correspondence, and sometimes traveled a hundred miles to see, from a window, who accompanied him in his carriage. At last, taking with her portions of his journals and papers, which she never restored, she left him with the assurance that she would never return. His allusion to the fact in his journal is characteristically laconic. He knew not, he says, the immediate cause of her determination, and adds, "*Non eam reliqui, non dimissi, non revocabo*"—I did not forsake her, I did not dismiss her, I will not recall her. She lived about ten years after leaving him. Her tombstone commemorated her virtues as a parent and a friend, but not as a wife.*

Toward the close of the last century DINAH EVANS,

* Southey is candid in his account of this case, (Life of Wesley, chap. 24.) Watson supplies additional and necessary facts. (Life of Wesley, chap. 10.) There is an intimation in Wesley's Journal as late as June 30, 1772, which seems to imply a temporary reconciliation. "Calling," he says, "at a little inn on the moors, I spoke a few words to an old man there, as my wife did to the woman of the house." At her death she left him a ring. (Coke and Moore's Life of Wesley, II, 4.)

wife of Seth Evans, himself a useful local preacher, commenced her public labors in Derbyshire. The hand of genius has portrayed her almost angelic character truthfully, though in a work of fiction; and has won for her admiration and tears wherever the English language is used.* She is described as "one of the most pure minded and holy women that ever adorned the Church of Christ on earth." In her childhood she was remarkable for her docility, conscientiousness, and sweet disposition. Her early girlhood was consecrated to religion; and when Wesley's travels and labors had raised up, throughout the land, Societies in the social worship of which women were allowed to share, her rare natural talents found an appropriate sphere of usefulness which no other denomination except Quakerism then afforded. She preached in cottages and sometimes in the open air. Her appearance, her womanly delicacy, and her affecting eloquence subdued the rudest multitudes into reverence and tenderness toward her; and she assisted in an extraordinary

* Adam Bede. By George Eliot. The author's real name was Evans, (now Mrs. Lewes,) and she was a relative of Seth Evans. It will be a satisfaction to most readers of this popular fiction to know that the heroine married, not Adam Evans, (Adam Bede,) as the author represents, but his brother Seth. The sermon of Dinah, on the Green, is no exaggerated example of her talents and beautiful character, if we may judge from more authentic accounts. See "Seth Bede, etc. Chiefly written by himself." Tallant & Co., London, 1859.

degree in laying the foundations of the Church in many benighted districts. She was a constant visitor to the abodes of the poor and wretched, to prisons and almshouses; she penetrated into the dens of crime and infamy, the charm of her benign presence and speech securing her not only protection but welcome among the most brutal men. She even followed the penitent murderess to the gallows; ministering the word of life to her till the last moment amid the pitiless and jeering throng. Elizabeth Fry, the Quaker philanthropist, could not fail to sympathize with such a woman; she became her friend and counselor, and encouraged her in her beneficent work. Dinah Evans represented, in her gentle but ardent nature, the best traits of both Quakerism and Methodism.

Seth Evans, then a class-leader, heard her at Ashbourne, and has left a brief allusion to the occasion: "The members of my class invited me to go to Ashbourne with them, to hear a pious and devoted female, from Nottingham, preach. Truly it may be said of her, she is a burning and shining light. She preached with great power and unction from above to a crowded congregation. Her doctrine is sound and simple. Simplicity, love, and sweetness are blended in her. Her whole heart is in the work. She is made instrumental in the conversion of many sinners. The morning of the resur-

rection will reveal more than we know of her usefulness."

She became his wife, and his assistant in humble efforts for the religious improvement of the rustic inhabitants of Royston and its neighboring villages. A great religious interest soon ensued in that town, where there were but few Methodists, and in Snelston, where there were none. Hundreds flocked to hear the Gospel from her lips, in the open air or in barns, for the cottages could not accommodate the crowds. Classes and prayer-meetings were established in many houses, the village alehouses were deserted, and a visible change came over the whole region. Her example of interest for the poor excited the charity of her neighbors, and the afflicted found sympathy and relief such as they never before received.

Seth and Dinah Evans founded Methodism in Edlaston, which, before his death, was adorned with a substantial Wesleyan chapel. They removed from Royston to Derby. It is said that old men, who were then little children, still recall the sorrowful day of their departure from the village, for it was mourned as a day of bereavement not only to the poor, but to all its families. They founded Methodism in Derby by forming a class. They preached out of doors in all the adjacent villages. At Millhouse, about thirteen miles from Derby,

Seth Evans organized a Society of four members, which soon increased to between twenty and thirty, and afforded two preachers to the conference, one of whom became a missionary to the West Indies. His wife also began a class of three or four females, and in a short time she had three such weekly meetings under her care. They frequently walked fifteen miles on Sunday, to preach in neglected hamlets. "Never," he wrote years after her death, "did I hear my dear wife complain. On the contrary, she always held up my hands, and urged me to take up my cross and not grow weary in well-doing. A few years after our arrival at Millhouse a great revival broke out in Wirksworth, and also at our factory. There was a most powerful shaking among the hardest and worst of sinners. These were indeed happy days. There are a few left who witnessed those happy scenes; but the greater part of the converts have gone to their rest."

Dinah Evans died at Wirksworth, of a lingering disease, during which it is said that sermons were heard, from her death-bed, more "eloquent than ever fell from her lips on Royston Green." She passed away with the meek, unutterable peace which had given so much dignity and grace to her life. Her husband could not but suffer deeply from the loss of such a wife. It shattered his health; his faculties began to fail; he could seldom allude to

her without tears. Unable to preach any more, he spent the remaining years of his life in visiting the sick and the dying, and at last, with unfaltering hope, departed to rejoin her in heaven. So exemplary and beautiful with holiness had been their united lives, that one who knew them well, but cared not for his own soul, said he "did not believe that our first parents in Eden were more pure than they."

A single character has consecrated the Isle of Wight forever in the history of Methodism and the regards of the Christian world. A clergyman of the Church of England received one day, from the hand of a servant, a note, with word that the bearer waited at the gate of the parsonage. He went out to speak to the peasant, and found him a "venerable man, whose long, hoary hair and deeply wrinkled countenance claimed more than ordinary respect." He was resting upon the gate, and tears were streaming down his cheeks; he made a low bow to the pastor and said, "I have brought you a letter from my daughter, but fear you will think us very bold in asking you to take so much trouble." The old man wept for the loss of his child. The letter was from his only remaining daughter, and invited the preacher to attend the funeral of her sister. It was remarkable for its simple but devout sentiments. "What is your occupation?" asked the pastor. "Sir, I have lived most of my days in a

little cottage at Arreton, six miles from here. I have rented a few acres of ground, and kept some cows, which, in addition to my day labor, have been the means of supporting and bringing up my family." "What family have you?" "A wife, now getting very aged and helpless, two sons, and one daughter; for my other poor dear child has just departed out of this wicked world." "I hope for the better." "I hope so too, poor thing, she did not use to take to such good ways as her sister; but I do believe that her sister's manner of talking with her before she died was the means of saving her soul. What a mercy it is to have such a child as mine is! I never thought about my own soul seriously till she, poor girl, begged and prayed me to flee from the wrath to come." "How old are you?" "Near seventy, and my wife is older; we are getting old, and almost past our labor; but our daughter has left a good place, where she lived in service, on purpose to come home and take care of us and our little dairy. And a dear, dutiful, affectionate girl she is."

The aged man, his wife, his dead child, and one of his sons had been converted through the instrumentality of this Christian maiden, and his cottage had become a rustic sanctuary, fit in its simple and beautiful piety for the visitation of angels.

The clergyman attended the funeral, and as he

sat in the group of mourners in the cottage, he was impressed by the affecting picture of simple life and domestic virtue and sorrow which it presented; and was "struck with the humble, pious, and pleasing countenance of the young woman" from whom he had received the letter. "It bore the marks of great seriousness without affectation, and of much serenity mingled with a glow of devotion." At the grave a profligate spectator was smitten by the scene and by a sentence of the burial service, and became a regenerated man.

The pious curate repeated his visits, and learned among these peasants lessons of divinity which the books of the great doctors of the Church could not teach him. He has recorded the touching story of these interviews and lessons. All the Protestant world has read and re-read, and will probably continue to read the record, till the end of time, with glowing hearts and flowing tears. Such was his estimation of the Christian peasant girl that he maintained a correspondence with her as well as visited her. Her letters are admirable for their good sense, and affecting by their piety, their natural tenderness, and their maidenly modesty. She was living "out at service," to provide for her aged parents. "Dear sir, I thank you," she wrote, "for your kindness and condescension in leaving those that are of high rank and birth in the world to converse with me,

who am but a servant here below. But when I consider what a high calling, what honor and dignity God has conferred upon me, to be called his child, to be born of his Spirit, made an heir of glory, and joint heir with Christ; how humble and circumspect should I be in all my ways, as a dutiful and loving child to an affectionate and loving Father! When I seriously consider these things it fills me with love and gratitude to God, and I do not wish for any higher station, nor envy the rich. I rather pity them if they are not good as well as great. My blessed Lord was pleased to appear in the form of a servant, and I long to be like him."

Time passes, and the saintly girl ripens for heaven, growing in grace herself, and dispensing blessings to all who come within her lonely sphere of life. The pastor receives another simple note at his gate. It calls him to attend his humble correspondent in her last sickness, which was a rapid pulmonary consumption. "A sweet smile of friendly complacency enlightened her pale countenance" as she welcomed him, supported in an arm-chair by pillows. "You find me," she said, "daily wasting away, and I cannot have long to continue here. My flesh and my heart fail; but God is the strength of my weak heart, and I trust will be my portion forever." A long conversation ensued. "I looked around me as she was speaking," says the visitor, "and thought, surely

this is none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven!"

One day he received a hasty summons informing him that she was dying. It was brought by a soldier, whose countenance bespoke seriousness, good sense, and piety. "She is going home, sir, very fast," said the veteran. "Have you known her long?" asked the pastor. "About a month, sir; I love to visit the sick; and hearing of her case, from a person who lives close by our camp, I went to see her. I bless God that ever I did go. Her conversation has been very profitable to me." "I rejoice," said the preacher, "to see in you, as I trust, a brother soldier. Though we differ in our outward regimentals, I hope we serve under the same spiritual Captain. I will go with you." "She is a bright diamond, sir," said the soldier, "and will soon shine brighter than any diamond upon earth."

Over the face of the invalid, though pale, sunken, and hollow, the peace of God which passeth all understanding had cast a triumphant calm. The soldier, after a short pause, silently reached out his Bible toward the pastor, pointing with his finger at 1 Cor. xv, 55, 56, 58. The preacher read aloud, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

At the sound of these words the sufferer opened her eyes, and something like a ray of divine light beamed on her countenance as she said, "Victory! victory! through our Lord Jesus Christ." She relapsed again, taking no further notice of any one present. "God be praised for the triumph of faith!" said the pastor. "Amen!" replied the soldier. A severe struggle for breath took place in the dying young woman, which was soon over. "My dear friend, do you not feel that you are supported?" asked the pastor. "The Lord deals very gently with me," she replied. "Are not his promises now very precious to you?" "They are all yea and amen in Christ Jesus." "Are you in much bodily pain?" "So little that I almost forget it." "How good the Lord is!" "And how unworthy am I!" "You are going to see him as he is." "I think, I hope, I believe that I am." "What are your views of the dark valley of death, now that you are passing through it?" "It is not dark." "Why so?" "My Lord is there, and he is my light and my salvation." "Have you any fears of more bodily suffering?" "The Lord deals so gently with me I can trust him." A convulsion came on. When it was past she said, in broken gasps and sobs, "The Lord deals very gently with me. Lord, I am thine, save me—Blessed Jesus—precious Saviour—His blood cleanseth from all sin—Who shall separate?—His name is

Wonderful—Thanks be to God—He giveth us the victory—I, even I, am saved—O grace, mercy, and wonder—Lord, receive my spirit! Dear sir—dear father, mother, friends, I am going—but all is well, well—"

"Farewell," said the preacher, as he returned home; "farewell, dear friend, till the morning of an eternal day shall renew our personal intercourse. Thou wast a brand plucked from the burning, that thou mightest become a star shining in the firmament of glory. I have seen thy light and thy good works, and will therefore glorify our Father which is in heaven."

He attended her funeral, and has described the scene, more beautiful than mournful. An aged Christian matron, "remarkably decent looking," managed the few and simple ceremonies of the occasion. She had been the Methodist "class-leader" of the dead maiden. "This," she said to the clergy man, "is rather a sight of joy than of sorrow." "Her soul is with her Saviour in Paradise," he replied. "I am but a poor soldier," said the military mourner, "and have nothing of this world's goods beyond my daily subsistence; but I would not exchange my hope of salvation in the next world for all that this world could bestow without it. What is wealth without grace? Blessed be God! as I march about from one quarters to another, I still find the Lord

wherever I go; and, thanks be to his holy name! he is here to-day in the midst of this company of the living and the dead. I feel that it is good to be here."

"Peace," said the preacher, as he retired to lead the procession, "peace, my honored sister, be to thy memory and to *my* soul till we meet in a better world." Her humble brethren and sisters bore her along the highway to the grave with a hymn, the singing of which was led by a venerable Methodist of Newport.

Such are only a few references to the most affecting, the most generally read of Christian idyls—The Life and death of Elizabeth Wallbridge, the "Dairyman's Daughter," loved and wept by millions, in the palaces of the wealthy, the cottages and hovels of the poor, the log-cabins of emigrants in the frontier wildernesses of America and Australia, and in the homes of converted heathen throughout most of the missionary world.* No history of Methodism that should omit her name would be complete; for though her simple story touches no important chronological point of that history, none of its great public facts, yet what better illustration do its annals afford of its essential spirit, the spirit with-

* The Dairyman's Daughter, an Authentic Narrative, by Rev. Legh Richmond; comprising much additional matter: edited by S. B. Wickens, and published at the Methodist Book Rooms, New York; the best edition of this Christian classic yet issued.

out which the letter would be dead? what better illustration of its beneficent and appointed task of bearing the purifying and consoling blessings of the Gospel to the homes of the lowly? But though her beautiful vision flits but briefly across our historic track, yet she passes over it as an angel, leaving an unfading light upon her path, reminding Methodists in all the world, and probably for all ages, of the great lesson of their cause, its providential design, the preaching of the Gospel to the poor. And her life, obscure in itself, has become historical in its results; thousands have owed their salvation to its record; tens of thousands have received comfort and strength from it in their hours of extremity. It has been translated into at least thirty languages, and her grave attracts to her native island more pilgrims than go to see its unrivaled scenery, or to gaze upon the residence of the queen of her country, which adorns its beautiful coast.

In 1795 the Isle of Wight was attached to the Portsmouth circuit, which then included "two missions," one of them comprising parts of Sussex and Surrey, the other, portions of the island. Five preachers traveled this circuit. One of them, James Crabb, while preaching in Portsmouth, was instrumental in the conversion of Elizabeth Wallbridge, who was then residing in that town as a domestic

servant.* On returning to the island her sanctified life, Christian conversations, charities, and prayers, among the sick and poor, were productive of great good, and endeared her memory to all circles of its inhabitants. All her family became exemplary Christians, and one of her brothers was a useful local preacher among the islanders for more than forty years. A Methodist chapel now marks the scene where "the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof" paused for a moment to receive her spirit, and hard by still stands the Dairyman's cottage, in its original rustic simplicity. Methodism has continued to prosper on the Isle of Wight. In 1847 it reported twenty-three local preachers and eleven chapels, though it is but twenty-one miles long and thirteen broad.

Such examples of rare character and usefulness, in obscure life, are seldom favored with the recognition of the historian; but the truer instinct of

* See the facts of her Methodistic history in "A Further Account of the Dairyman's Daughter, by Rev. Benjamin Carvosso," (Wesleyan Magazine, 1838.) This, together with additional letters of Elizabeth Wallbridge, her Will, a letter from Rev. Mr. Crabb respecting her, "A Short Account of the Dairyman" himself, and other interesting documents, is given in the Appendix to Mr. Wickens's edition of the "Dairyman's Daughter." As Richmond wrote his sketch from memory, he mistook Mr. Crabb, the itinerant, for a missionary, windbound at the island, on his way to New South Wales. The Dairyman's Daughter died May 30, 1801. Her mother died a few months later. The Dairyman survived some years, and died in the faith, aged eighty-four.

higher genius perceives their peculiar, their beautiful, and often sublime significance to our common humanity; and Dinah Evans and the Dairyman's Daughter live in English literature, teaching and consoling hundreds of thousands, for whom most of the great names of history have little or no meaning. Lowly laborers like these have not only exemplified the best significance of Methodism, but have promoted its progress hardly less effectively than its more eminent representatives.

PART II.

SELINA, COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON, AND CALVINISTIC METHODISM.

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON AND HER COMPANIONS.

Unity of Calvinistic and Arminian Methodism — Sketch of the Life of Lady Huntingdon — Her Relations with Wesley — Whitefield and his Noble Hearers — A Scene in the Mansion of the Countess — Her Travels and Usefulness — Her Control of Calvinistic Methodism — Lord Dartmouth — Remarkable Events — Trevecca College — Interesting Scenes there — Lady Huntingdon's Connection — Consequences of Whitefield's Death — The Countess's Plans for America — Missionary Scenes — Her Death — Her Charities — Her Character — Results of Calvinistic Methodism.

WESLEY and WHITEFIELD were the joint apostles of Methodism. A difference of opinions, relating to the Calvinistic controversy, produced a divergence in their practical plans, which, with some temporary asperities, soon became cordial and obviously providential. It never broke the moral unity of the Methodistic movement; but the advancing current became two streams, tending in the same direction, and only fertilizing a larger range of the common field. Wesley became distinctively the leader of Arminian Methodism, Whitefield of Calvinistic Methodism.

The former was destined to become the general Methodism of later days; the latter had a more local mission, but remains strong in England, especially in Wales, to our day; its providential work was to resuscitate the spiritual life of the Calvinistic or Low Church party of the Establishment, and to restore the expiring Nonconformity of the realm, "which," says Isaac Taylor, "just at the time of the Methodistic revival, was rapidly in course to be found nowhere but in books;" while, as this same high authority (himself a Churchman) admits, the Anglican Church itself had become "an ecclesiastical system, under which the people of England had lapsed into heathenism, or a state hardly to be distinguished from it."

But, though Whitefield was the apostle of Calvinistic Methodism, a woman was its virtual founder. Whitefield designed not to establish a Methodist sect, yet circumstances compelled him, after his divergence from Wesley, to give a somewhat organized form to the results of his labors among the Calvinistic adherents who gathered about him. Lady Elizabeth Hastings had patronized the little band of Methodists at Oxford; Lady Margaret Hastings, her sister, had adopted, through her influence, the Methodist sentiments, and afterward married Ingham, who was one of the Oxford Methodists, and the companion of Wesley in Georgia. Her influence over

her sister-in-law Selina, the Countess of Huntingdon,* led the countess, during a serious sickness, to a religious life, and to a strong sympathy with the Methodists. Bishop Benson, who had ordained Whitefield, and had been tutor to her husband, the Earl of Huntingdon, was called by the latter to restore his wife to a "saner" mind. The good bishop failed in the attempt, and expressed regret that he had ever laid his hands on Whitefield. "Mark my words, my lord," replied the countess; "when upon your dying bed, that will be one of the ordinations upon which you will reflect with pleasure." The prediction was fulfilled. The bishop, when he came to die, sent Whitefield a present of ten guineas, and asked an interest in his prayers. Lady Huntingdon, though remotely related to the royal family, and moving in the highest circles of aristocratic life, frequented, with Wesley and Whitefield, the Moravian societies in London, and at the separation of Wesley from them, co-operated with the Methodist party. She invited him to her residence at Donnington Park, where he often preached. She adopted heartily his doctrine of Christian Perfection. "The doctrine," she wrote him, "I hope to live and die by; it is absolutely the most complete thing I know." She encouraged him in his extraordinary labors, and especially in the provision

* Born 1707.

of a lay ministry as the great necessity of the times. Susanna Wesley, as we have seen, really founded the lay ministry of Methodism, by determining Wesley to recognize Thomas Maxfield as a preacher. Lady Huntingdon, however, co-operated with her in this most important crisis of the Methodistic movement, an event which forecast its destiny. The countess heard Maxfield, and wrote to Wesley in the warmest terms respecting him. "He is," she said, "one of the greatest instances of God's peculiar favor that I know. He has raised from the stones one to sit among the princes of his people; he is my astonishment; how is God's power shown in weakness!" Her biographer intimates that she really induced Maxfield to take the important step of preaching.

Her Calvinistic opinions led her to patronize Whitefield when he separated from Wesley, and her talents, wealth, and influence placed her at the head of Calvinistic Methodism; but she endeavored to secure a good understanding between the great evangelists. She wrote to each, recommending their closer co-operation, and not without effect. Whitefield preached in Wesley's chapel, Wesley reading the prayers; the next Sunday Wesley officiated at Whitefield's Tabernacle, assisted by him, and twelve hundred persons received the Lord's Supper from their hands at the conclusion of the sermon. The reconciliation was

strengthened by a powerful discourse to an overflowing assembly at Wesley's chapel the following day, by Howell Harris, the Welsh colaborer of both the great leaders. Their friendship remained uninterrupted during the rest of their lives. "Thanks be to God," wrote the countess, "for the love and unanimity which have been displayed on this occasion. May the God of peace and harmony unite us all in the bond of affection."

When Wesley's first conference was held in London (1744) the whole body was received at Lady Huntingdon's mansion, for the countess still considered Methodism a common cause. Wesley preached there from a befitting text: "What hath God wrought?" Piers, of Bexley, and Hodges, of Wenvo, Methodist clergymen, took part in the service; while Maxfield, Richards, Bennet, and Downes, lay preachers, sat around them, recognized as genuine, though unordained embassadors of Christ. This was the first of those household sermons which afterward, under Whitefield, gave to her ladyship's residence in London the character of a chapel. By her influence with the government brave John Nelson (one of Wesley's mightiest lay preachers) was released from impressment in the army, after having been marched about the country with his regiment for nearly three months, and immediately resumed his labors as "a good soldier of the Lord Jesus."

At the death of her husband Lady Huntingdon devoted her life to religious labors, and in 1748 invited Whitefield to preach in her house at Chelsea, near London, hitherto a resort for the highest classes of the fashionable and aristocratic world. She soon after appointed him one of her chaplains. Paul preached privately to those that were of reputation, thought Whitefield; he therefore concurred in her ladyship's proposal to combine with his public labors, among the crowds at his Tabernacle, and the ten thousands at Moorfields, private sermons at the Chelsea mansion. Notable men heard there the truth from his eloquent lips. Chesterfield listened to him with delight, and gave him one of his courtly compliments: "Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve you." He opened for the evangelist his chapel at Bretby Hall, and several of his noble relatives were claimed by Whitefield as his spiritual trophies; his wife and her sister, the Countess Delitz, died in the faith. Horace Walpole heard him with admiration, though his rampant wit trifled with him behind his back. Hume listened with wonder, and said he would go twenty miles to hear him. Bolingbroke complimented him, and received his printed sermons and his visits; his brother, Lord St. John, became a convert, and died in the hope of the Gospel. Many ladies of the highest aristocratic rank became devoted

Christians, and ornaments to the Church. The Marchioness of Lothian arrived in London in a dying condition about this time, and joined with the Countess of Leven, Lady Balgonie, Lady Frances Gardiner, Lady Jane Nimmo, and Lady Mary Hamilton, in establishing a meeting for prayer and the reading of the Scriptures, to be held alternately at each other's houses, which continued to be well attended and singularly useful for many years. It was confined to a select circle of women of high station, many of whom adorned the doctrine which they professed by a life of holiness and self-denial amid their distinguished associates. Still later, the Countess of Northesk and Hopetown, the daughters of Lord Leven, the Countess of Buchan, Lady Maxwell, Lady Glenorchy, Wilhelmina, Countess of Leven, (formerly Lady Balgonie,) with her sisters, Lady Ruthven and Lady Banff, Lady Henrietta Hope, and Sophia, Countess of Haddington, were devoted members of this select band. Thus while Methodism was gathering its societies from the humblest classes, at the Tabernacle and the Foundry, it bound together, in similar assemblies, a few of the "noble" in the aristocratic quarter of the metropolis.

Meanwhile Whitefield's success opened the way for the utmost zeal and liberality of the countess. She gave away, for religious purposes, more than five

hundred thousand dollars. She sold all her jewels, and by the proceeds erected chapels for the poor. She relinquished her aristocratic equipage, her expensive residences and liveried servants, that her means of usefulness might be more ample. She purchased theaters, halls, and dilapidated chapels in London, Bristol, and Dublin, and fitted them up for public worship. New chapels were also erected by her aid in many places in England, Wales, and Ireland. Distinguished Calvinistic clergymen, Churchmen as well as Dissenters, co-operated with her plans, and were more or less under her direction. Romaine, Venn, Madan, Berridge, Toplady, Shirley, Fletcher, Benson, and a host of others, shared her beneficent labors. She met them in frequent conferences, attended sometimes by the Wesleys. She made tours through parts of England and Wales, accompanied by like-minded noble ladies and by eminent evangelists, who preached wherever they went, in the churches and in the open air. She mapped all England into six districts or circuits, and sent out six "canvassers" from among her most successful adherents, to travel them, and to preach in every community, large or small, which was not preoccupied by similar laborers; and at the time of her death her influence had extended over the four sections of the United Kingdom.

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to define

the mutual relations of the Calvinistic Methodist societies. Calvinism has always tended, by some occult law, to ecclesiastical independence, and has thereby favored freedom of thought rather than effectiveness of organization. Whitefield and Howell Harris were the chief apostles of Calvinistic Methodism; Romaine, Madan, Venn, and Berridge, their coadjutors; but the Countess of Huntingdon was their most important center of union. Her good sense, the influence of her social position as a member of the British aristocracy, (an important consideration to the English mind,) and, still more, her munificence, upon which most of the Calvinistic chapels were more or less dependent, enabled her to centralize their sympathies around her own person, and she never abused the power which she thus commanded. No formal conferences were held; few, if indeed any, representative consultations were had; but the Calvinistic evangelists naturally resorted to her house for counsel with each other, and always with her. Most of their leaders were her chaplains, a fact which gave her a paramount influence. Severely practical, and never whimsical in her judgments, she added to her other sources of power a moral authority to which all reverently deferred.

While really directing the whole Calvinistic movement of Methodism, she never transcended what was

deemed the propriety of her sex by any activity in the public assemblies of her societies. She "itinerated" among them, but was always accompanied, not by Whitefield, for his movements were too rapid for her, but by Harris, Romaine, Venn, Fletcher, or Madan, they preaching, while she maintained her womanly decorum as a hearer, planning their labors and counseling the societies privately.

Her excursions among them were frequent. In 1760 she went into Yorkshire with Romaine and Venn, and was joined there by Whitefield. They traveled and preached, spreading a profound sensation throughout their course. In 1762 she again visited that county, and, with Venn, Romaine, Madan, and Whitefield, was present at Wesley's Conference in Leeds. Their attendance seems to have been purely one of courtesy and Christian fellowship. No dissentient opinion disturbed the deliberations; Wesley expressed in his Journal thankfulness to God for "his gracious presence, which attended it from the beginning." The occasion must have been one of deep interest, presenting, as it did, an imposing representation of the whole Methodist movement, in the persons of most of its great leaders, and crowded by an unusual attendance of local preachers, class-leaders, and stewards.

After the session Whitefield went to Scotland,

rousing the towns and villages in his course. The countess hastened to Knaresborough, where she had frequent meetings with the evangelical clergy of the shire, inspiriting them for more energetic labors. Romaine continued with her, preaching daily and with powerful effect. Venn, who had charge of the parish of Huddersfield, wrote to her, after her departure, with an overflowing heart, respecting the "light and life" which her visit had spread among the Yorkshire Churches. The catholic-minded Grimshaw, who was evangelically the archbishop of Yorkshire, and was now about to depart to the Church triumphant, rejoiced to see any new laborer enter his great Methodist diocese. He wrote to the countess, after her visit, that the "Lord's work prospers amazingly among us," and that the societies were everywhere in a good state. So pure at this time was the charity, so fervent the zeal of both classes of Methodists, that it was indeed difficult for either themselves or their enemies to distinguish between them. Grimshaw wrote, with a sort of rapture, of the blessings "showered by the Lord" upon them all while the countess and her chaplains were in Yorkshire. "How," he says, "did our hearts burn within us to proclaim his love and grace to perishing sinners. Come and animate us afresh; aid us by your counsels and your prayers; and stir us up to renewed activity in the cause of God. All the dear apostles

go on well; all pray for your dear ladyship, and all long for your coming among us again." He had been, he continues, on a "long round" since she was with them, and saw Ingham, Venn, Conyers, and Bentley, "all alive, and preaching Christ crucified with wonderful success." Nelson, Grimshaw, Ingham, and Venn, had kindled a flame of Christian charity and zeal in Yorkshire which still glows over their graves. Not only these early and beautiful examples of religious fellowship, but the abiding results of Methodism in that region are among its best vindications.

Fletcher proposed, at the next visit of the countess to Yorkshire, to accompany her to that "Goshen of the land, to learn the love of Christ at the feet of his brethren and fathers there." She was also attended by Whitefield, Venn, Howell Harris, Townsend, Dr. Conyers, and Lady Anne Erskine, daughter of Lord Buchan; and Madan joined them afterward. They had public worship twice a day, Fletcher being the chief preacher, as Whitefield left them early for Wales. They paused at Venn's parish, in Huddersfield, where Fletcher preached twice to large congregations and with manifest effect. They also entered the parish of Grimshaw, who had now gone to his rest. Fletcher and Townsend addressed thousands there who had assembled from the towns and villages round about. Madan, Fletcher, and Venn,

assisted by several Yorkshire clergymen, preached incessantly for some weeks, not only in that county, but in the adjacent shires to vast multitudes. It was, in fine, a religious jubilee throughout that part of England. Whitefield again joined them, and spread widely the public interest. The Churches were quickened, hundreds if not thousands of hearers were awakened, and the whole region was aroused.

In 1768 the indefatigable Countess made excursions into Gloucestershire and neighboring counties, attended by a corps of regular and irregular preachers, whose ministry spread a great sensation throughout their course. "A remarkable power from on high," wrote the countess, "accompanied the message of His servants, and many felt the arrows of distress." Shirley, Romaine, Madan, Venn, and Maddock were with her, and Whitefield joined them at Cheltenham. They preached in the churches when they could obtain permission; when it was denied they betook themselves to Methodist and Dissenting chapels, to church-yards, to highways, and fields. At Cheltenham the church was refused them by its rector and wardens, but Lord Dartmouth, noted as a Methodist himself, opened his mansion for them. Downing, his chaplain, was a Methodist evangelist, and had done much good in the neighborhood. His lordship hoped to obtain the church for Whitefield, but when the latter arrived it was denied to him also. An

immense assembly had been attracted by the fame of the preacher and the exertions of the earl; finding the church door closed, Whitefield mounted a tombstone and cried aloud, "Ho! every one that thirsteth come ye to the waters!" A singular spectacle was it—the closed church, the graves covered with thousands of the people, and such churchmen as Venn, Madan, Shirley, Maddock, Talbot, Rowlands, and Whitefield, ordained and gowned, and yet proscribed for preaching to the famishing multitudes the doctrines of the Anglican Reformation; and this, too, while a peer of the realm, a nobleman distinguished for his wealth and dignity, admired by the king, the first Lord of Trade, sworn of the Privy Council, and Principal Secretary of State for the American Department, stood with his family among them, their friend and patron.* Such was the treatment of Methodism by the Established Church of the land.

Venn spoke of this "field day," and those which immediately ensued, as remarkable for interest and success beyond what his "powers could describe."

* America still respects the name of the noble Methodist at the college (Dartmouth, Hanover, N. H.) which he patronized. It was to him that Cowper alluded in the verses:

> "We boast some rich ones whom the Gospel sways,
> And one who wears a coronet and prays."

"They call my Lord Dartmouth an enthusiast," said George III.; "but surely he says nothing on religion but what any Christian may and ought to say." There was a vein of downright good sense running through the insanity of the good king.

He says he was overwhelmed by a sense of the awful power and presence of Jehovah; that the effect of Whitefield's discourse was so irresistible that some of the hearers fell prostrate upon the graves, others sobbed aloud, some wept in silence, and almost the whole assembly seemed struck with awe. When the preacher came to the application of his text to the ungodly, "his word cut like a sword." Many cried out with anguish. At this juncture Whitefield made an "awful pause" of a few seconds, then burst into a flood of tears. Madan and Venn stood up during this short interval, and exhorted the people to restrain as much as possible their emotions. Twice afterward they had to repeat the same advice. "O with what eloquence," writes Venn, "what energy, what melting tenderness did Whitefield beseech sinners to be reconciled to God, to come to him for life everlasting, and rest their weary souls in Christ the Saviour." When the sermon was ended the people seemed spell-bound to the spot. Madan, Talbot, Downing, and Venn found ample employment in endeavoring to comfort those who had broken down under a sense of guilt. They separated in different directions among the crowd, and each was quickly surrounded by an attentive audience still eager to hear the word of life.

Turned away from the church, the evangelists found shelter at Lord Dartmouth's mansion. White-

field administered the sacrament there the same evening. Talbot "exhorted," and Venn closed the day with prayer and thanksgiving. The next day was equally interesting. Whitefield addressed "a prodigious congregation" in the church-yard, and Talbot preached at night at the earl's residence, where all the rooms and the adjacent grounds were crowded. A table was brought out before the door, and Whitefield mounting it, again addressed them with overwhelming effect. Intelligence of these extraordinary scenes soon spread abroad, and the next day Charles Wesley, and many Methodists from Bristol, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Rodborough, and their neighboring villages, arrived and shared in the Pentecost; but all "loud weeping and piercing cries had subsided, and the work of conversion went on, and much solid good was done." Thus did the Countess of Huntingdon, silently present with her apostolic associates, spread through their agency the awakening power of the Gospel through much of the land. She planned and conducted these measures.

It is supposed that there were about forty clergymen of the Establishment publicly known about this period as "evangelical." Wesley had tried in vain to introduce among them some plan of co-operation which should not compromise their opinions. With Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon he had better success. He frequently met them in London, and

preached at the residence of the countess amid throngs not only of the aristocracy, but of the Calvinistic Methodist ministers. He occupied their pulpits, also, in his travels through the country. Still later the countess, Whitefield, and the two Wesleys cemented their Christian harmony by something like a formal, "a quadruple alliance," as Charles Wesley called it. They agreed to meet as often as convenient and co-operate in their common work.

Lady Huntingdon prized highly Wesley's counsels. She could not fail to perceive his peculiar ability as an ecclesiastical administrator, and, more than any other leader of Calvinistic Methodism, shared his legislative and executive genius; but her sex did not admit of its exertion to the extent needed by her societies. She consulted him often on important occasions. She submitted to him, and also to Venn, Romaine, and her other conspicuous associates, her plan for the education of preachers, from which arose her Trevecca College. Wesley heartily approved the scheme; it was, in fact, the exemplification of a design which he himself had propounded in his first and second Conferences.

Her zeal and munificence provided places of worship faster than they could be supplied by her preachers, especially in Wales. The college for the preparation of clergymen was therefore opened, in a romantic and dilapidated castle of the twelfth cen-

tury, at Trevecca, the birthplace of Howell Harris, the Welsh Methodist evangelist. Its preparation for the purpose exhausted all the available means of the countess; but Ladies Glenorchy and Chesterfield, with other aristocratic but devout friends, gave her large contributions. Wesley having heartily approved her plans, she submitted it to Fletcher of Madeley. At the close of the day on which he received her letter he retired to his rest in prayerful meditation respecting it. In the dreams of the night the scheme was revolving through his thoughts, and a young man, "James Glazebrook, collier and getter-out of iron-stone in the woods of Madeley," appeared as in a vision before him—a suitable student with whom to begin "the school of the prophets." "To my great surprise," wrote Fletcher to the countess, "he came into Madeley the next morning. I found, upon inquiry, that he was as much drawn to come as I to speak of him." He had been seven years converted, had "no mean gift in singing and prayer," and his "judgment and sense were superior to his station." Such was the first pupil of Trevecca.*

* Lady Huntingdon Portrayed, chap. 8. Glazebrook became one of Lady Huntingdon's preachers, and subsequently, by the aid of Fletcher and the countess, obtained ordination in the Established Church. He died vicar of Belton, Leicestershire. He was distinguished for his piety and usefulness, and also for his satirical humor. Works from his pen on extemporary preaching, infant baptism, and other subjects, as also a posthumous volume of sermons, were published. A memoir of him appeared in the Evangelical Register (England) in 1836.

Fletcher himself became its president; and at a later date Joseph Benson, the Wesleyan commentator, was appointed its head master. Students soon flocked to the school. Religious opinions were not made a test for admission; but candidates who professed to have been truly converted to God, and were resolved to devote themselves to the ministry, in either the Established Church or any denomination of Dissenters, were welcomed, and provided, at the countess's expense, with board, tuition, and a yearly suit of clothes.

In August, 1769, a remarkable scene was exhibited at Trevecca. It was the celebration of the first anniversary of the college; and so catholic was yet the whole Methodist movement, that both its Calvinistic and Arminian leaders met there in harmony, and gave an example of Christian charity which should never be forgotten by their successors. Nearly a week before the celebration many of the most distinguished evangelists had arrived, and vast congregations, sermons, exhortations, prayers, and conversions, in the court-yard of the castle, marked these preliminary days. Early in the morning of the anniversary the Eucharist was administered, and shared by Methodists of all opinions. Its administrators were Wesley and Shirley, the exponent men of the Calvinism and Arminianism of the day. A large company of clergymen first partook of it, then the

students, and afterward the countess, and a train of "elect ladies," mostly of high rank, followed by the people. Fletcher preached in the court at two o'clock, and was succeeded by a sermon in Welsh, after which all the clergymen dined with Lady Huntingdon, while bread and meat were distributed from ample baskets to the multitude without. In the afternoon Wesley preached, and Fletcher followed with a second sermon. The evening was devoted to a "love-feast," the primitive Agapa, derived, in a simplified form, through the London Moravians; it was an occasion of extraordinary interest; all classes sat "together as in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." Howell Harris, with a band of his Welsh converts, took part in the exercises in their own language, and narratives of Christian experience, prayers, and hymns occupied the hours. Wesley, always on the wing, left the next day; but Fletcher, Shirley, and other clergymen tarried several days in brotherly devotions, preaching from a platform in the court-yard to the multitudes who still lingered with them in deep religious interest.

Lady Huntingdon's "Connection" holds an important place in the history of the Methodistic movement. It extended the movement effectively among British Calvinists, whether within or without the Church, and thus contributed inestimably to that general but potent influence which impartial Church-

men and Dissenters acknowledge to have been exerted by Methodism on the whole later progress of religion in Great Britain. Like Wesley, Lady Huntingdon, with Whitefield, Howell Harris, and most of her preachers, was strongly attached to the Church of England. They wished not to be classed with Dissenters; but in order to protect her chapels from suppression, or appropriation by the Established Church, she had to avail herself, in 1779, of the "Toleration Act," a law by which all religious societies that would not be subject to the established ecclesiastical power, could control their own chapels by an avowal, direct or virtual, of dissent. Her "Connection" thus took its place among the Dissenting Churches, and Romaine, Townsend, Venn, and many others of her most influential colaborers belonging to the Establishment ceased to preach in her chapels.

The famous Calvinistic controversy (1770) which called forth Fletcher's celebrated "Checks," led to the final divergence of Calvinistic from Arminian Methodism. The death of Whitefield in America about the same time was a disastrous blow to the cause. A day of fasting and prayer was observed in all the chapels of the countess in behalf of their cause in Georgia. In 1772, having bought up all claims of heirs-at-law to Whitefield's property in the province, she formed the design of appointing a

principal and a pastor for the Orphan House, and of dispatching with them a corps of preachers to prosecute the evangelization of the southern colonies. She issued a circular, calling upon all the ministers and students in her "Connection" to meet at Trevecca, there to examine such pupils as might volunteer for the service; to consecrate the projected measure with religious exercises; and to "plan out the work of the Connection more effectually in England, North and South Wales, and Ireland." Accordingly, on the 9th of October another memorable jubilee began in the ancient castle of Trevecca.

Accompanied by eminent clergymen and laymen, she was met on the route by students from the college, and many visitors wending their way from various parts of the country toward the Welsh Methodist Mount Zion. On their arrival they were received by the students with the hymn, "Welcome, blessed servants," and with prayer at their entrance; and at dinner the students sang, "Ye servants of God, your Master proclaim." A sermon was preached in the evening, and the day was closed with supper, singing, and prayers. Public services were begun the next day, and were continued for a fortnight. Independently of the American mission, the occasion was one of great local benefit, and of general advantage to the Calvin-

istic cause by the revision of its interests in all the United Kingdom.

A missionary band was organized, and on the 27th of October sailed from Blackwall to Gravesend, for America. It was one of the earliest of those sublime spectacles of Missionary embarkation which, from the impulse that Methodism was then giving to English Protestantism, have now become common. Before their departure the missionaries preached daily to vast crowds in the Tabernacle, in Tottenham Court Chapel, and in the open air on Tower Hill. The religious community of the metropolis was stirred by the occasion, and it was not inaptly called "*The Methodist Jubilee.*" An embarkation hymn, written by Shirley, was printed for the ceremony.* Immense throngs crowded the river's side, and when the ship started a solemn and affecting scene was presented. Every countenance was suffused with tears; hats and handkerchiefs were to be seen waving in all directions, "bidding these servants of God farewell; and prayers and wishes ascended as a cloud of incense to the great Head of the Church, recommending them to his merciful protection and care. Such a spirit of prayer and supplication was poured out upon the people of God

* This poem was reproduced in the Evangelical Magazine, 1796, when the missionary ship Duff left England for the South Seas. It begins, "Go, destined vessel, heavily freighted, go!"

at this interesting period as has seldom been remembered. Every heart was affected; and the impressions then made were attended with the most beneficial results."

In six weeks the missionary band arrived at Savannah, and were received at Whitefield's Orphan House, from which they soon went forth in all directions, preaching the "everlasting Gospel" with "signs following." They did extensive and profitable work, traveling about the country and laboring with all denominations. "Their labors were crowned with singular success, and many by their ministry received the light of the Gospel." They devoted themselves especially to the salvation of the African population. They strengthened the feeble and incipient Churches on the southern frontiers of the country, and "aroused the dormant zeal of many to send the Gospel to their heathen neighbors," the aborigines.

During several years did these laborious missionaries prosecute their good work. The provincial government took an interest in their plans, and offered to build a church in Savannah, and present it to the countess. "The invitations," she wrote, "which I have for our ministry, in various parts of America, are so kind and affectionate that it looks as if we were to have our way free through the whole continent;" "in all the back settlements we are

assured that the people will build us chapels at their own expense." She organized a plan, which was encouraged by Lord Dartmouth, for a large grant of lands from the government for the endowment of extensive missions; and ministerial reinforcements were to be supplied from Trevecca, to meet the wants of the spiritually destitute regions of the country.

The prospect was that Calvinistic Methodism would thus spread out over the southern portion of the colonies, and soon meet Arminian Methodism, which was now on its southward march. But it was otherwise designed in the counsels of Divine Providence. Methodism was to extend its sway over all those regions, but not with a divided interest. The revolutionary war was looming not far in the distance, and the New World was to have its own Methodism as well as its own government. The Orphan House was destroyed by fire. After eight years of service the missionaries, following the example of most of the regular English clergy of the colonies, escaped to England in the British convoy at the reduction of Charleston. The property of the countess was finally appropriated by the Americans, and the southern field was left unoccupied and open for the American Arminian Methodists, who soon after bore the cross triumphantly through its length and breadth.

The countess endeavored, during and after the war, to recover her important estates in Georgia for missionary purposes; she corresponded with Washington respecting them; Franklin accepted an appointment as one of her trustees; Laurens, President of Congress, imprisoned for some months in the Tower of London, became her friend and adviser, and his sons undertook, on their return to America, to adjust her claims there, but without success.

In the year of Wesley's death (1791) the Countess of Huntingdon, burdened with eighty-four years, closed the most remarkable career which is recorded of her sex, in the modern Church, by a death which was crowned with the serenity and hope that befitted a life so devout and beneficent. Through a lingering and painful illness she gave utterance to sentiments, not merely of resignation, but of rapture. When a blood-vessel broke, the presage of her departure, she said: "I am well; all is well—well for ever. I see, wherever I turn my eyes, whether I live or die, nothing but victory. The coming of the Lord draweth nigh, the coming of the Lord draweth nigh! The thought fills my soul with joy unspeakable, my soul is filled with glory; I am as in the element of heaven itself. I am encircled in the arms of love and mercy; I long to be at home; O, I long to be at home!" A little before she died she said repeatedly, "I shall go to my Father this

night;" and shortly after, "Can he forget to be gracious? Is there any end of his loving-kindness?" Almost her last words were, "*My work is done; I have nothing to do but to go to my Father.*" She left twenty thousand dollars for charities, and the residue of her fortune for the support of sixty-four chapels which she had helped to build in various parts of the kingdom. No woman, perhaps, in the history of the Church, certainly none of modern times, has done more by direct labors and liberality for the promotion of genuine religion.

Her character has received the best possible delineation by the record of her works in the preceding pages. She was profoundly devout, as her life and death attested. A German historian of Methodism, who personally knew her, says that "conversing with her you forgot the earldom in her exhibition of humble, loving piety." She was somewhat pertinacious of her opinions; financially she was liberal to excess, as shown by her benefactions, amounting to half a million of dollars, and by the embarrassments which she often suffered from her contributions to the poor. The power with which she swayed so many able men through so many years, is the more remarkable for not having been the result of any official or ecclesiastical prerogative. She resembled Wesley in the tenacity and steadiness with which she prosecuted her long and great work; and perhaps

her sex alone deprived her of equal success and eminence.

Writers who are not Methodists admit, as we have seen, that Methodism saved the Nonconformity of England; Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon were its chief representatives and promoters among the Nonconformists. The whole evangelical Dissent of England feels their power to-day. Wales is inscribed all over with the signatures of their usefulness. Jones, Harris, and Rowlands had begun its evangelical regeneration, but their labors were disconnected, and without definite scope. Whitefield and the Countess's Calvinism gave them power in the Principality; they brought the three Welsh evangelists into co-operation with each other, and into communion with Methodism, and thence, in connection with Wesleyan Methodism, has arisen that extraordinary religious progress by which the thirty Dissenting Churches of 1715 have increased to twenty-three hundred; by which a chapel now dots nearly every three square miles of the country, and over a million people, nearly the whole Welsh population, are found attending public worship some part of every Sabbath.

The Calvinistic Methodists, who had generally recognized in Lady Huntingdon's patronage and superintendence a bond of unity, were resolved at last into three sects: The first was known as Lady

Huntingdon's Connection; it observed strictly the liturgical forms of the English Church, and its ministry ceased to itinerate; it possesses in our day about sixty chapels; Cheshunt College, in Hertfordshire, belongs to it, and was substituted for Trevecca, when the lease of the latter expired. The second was called the Tabernacle Connection, or Whitefield Methodists. Some of its Churches used the national Liturgy, but many adopted the forms of the Congregational Independents, and most of them have been absorbed by the latter denomination. The third is known as the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists; it has continued to prosper down to our day. Its chapels are found in almost every village in Wales, and are alone equal to more than two thirds the number belonging to the Establishment. In 1785 it was more thoroughly organized by the Rev. Thomas Charles, whose legislative genius has thus perpetuated in effective vigor the usefulness of Griffith Jones, Howell Harris, Daniel Rowlands, and their Calvinistic Methodist coadjutors. According to the official statistics of the British Government respecting Wales, for 1857, there were in the Principality, Calvinistic Methodists, 52,670 communicants, 462 preachers, and 794 churches; Wesleyan Methodists, 19,014 communicants, 424 preachers, and 400 churches.

PART III.

BARBARA HECK AND AMERICAN METHODISM.

CHAPTER I.

BARBARA HECK, FOUNDRESS OF AMERICAN METHODISM.

Her Position in American Ecclesiastical History — Story of the Irish Palatines — Early Life of Barbara Heck — Voyage to America — Philip Embury — The Falling Away and Restoration of the Palatines in New York — Barbara Heck's Agency in the Initiation of American Methodism — Names of the First Congregation in New York — Captain Webb — The Rigging Loft — The First Chapel and its Parsonage — Spread of Methodism through the Country — Retirement of the Palatines to Northern New York — Death of Embury — The Emburys and Hecks go to Lower Canada — To Upper Canada — They Found Methodism at Augusta — William Losee, First Itinerant in Canada — Death of Paul Heck — Death of Barbara Heck — Descendants of the Emburys and Hecks — The Old Blue Church Graveyard — The Heck Homesteads — Results.

THE progress of Methodism in the United States has now indisputably placed the humble name of Barbara Heck first on the list of women in the ecclesiastical history of the New World. So few, however, are the remaining traditions of her personal history, that it is impossible to construct from them any adequate or satisfactory sketch of her life and

character. The foundress of Methodism in all these lands, including Canada, she nevertheless appears amid the early startling events and ever-enlarging results of its history, like a star, apart from its surrounding orbs, occupying but the smallest point of space, yet shedding its streaming light over the whole hemisphere. Gems, says the proverb, are always small; and the magnitude of her record must chiefly consist of the "setting" of her precious name, made from the history of the great cause with which her memory is forever identified, more than from the history of her own life.

The story of the "Irish Palatines" and their connection with American Methodism has often been told, but it will still bear often to be told. It can never grow old; it will only gain new significance and deepening interest with the lapse of time, and will become more and more a household tradition in Methodist families as the denomination extends among the nations and down the coming ages. Its brief reproduction here is the necessary introduction of Barbara Heck to her honored position in the history of Methodism.

John Wesley passed through the County of Limerick, Ireland, in 1758, preaching night and day. He records in his Journal that he met there an extraordinary community, settled in Court Mattress, and in Killiheen, Balligarrane, and Pallas, villages

within four miles of Court Mattress. They were not native Celts, but a Teutonic population. Having been nearly half a century without pastors who could speak their language, they had become thoroughly demoralized: noted for drunkenness, profanity, and "utter neglect of religion." But the Methodist itinerants had penetrated to their hamlets, and they were now a reformed, a devout people. They had erected a large chapel in the center of Court Mattress. "So did God at last provide," writes Wesley, "for these poor strangers who, for fifty years, had none who cared for their souls." At later visits he declares that three such towns as Court Mattress, Killiheen, and Balligarrane were hardly to be found anywhere else in Ireland or England. There was "no cursing or swearing, no Sabbath breaking, no drunkenness, no ale-house in any of them." "They had become a serious, thinking people, and their diligence had turned all their land into a garden. How will these poor foreigners rise up in the day of judgment against those that are round about them." But the most interesting fact respecting this obscure colony was not yet apprehended by Wesley, or he would have wondered still more at their providential history. The Methodism of the New World was already germinating among them; in about two years the prolific seed was to be transplanted to the distant continent, and at the time of

Wesley's death (about thirty years later) its vigorous boughs were to extend over the land from Canada to Georgia, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, sheltering more than sixty-three thousand Church members, and two hundred and fifty itinerant preachers. In about thirty years after Wesley's death (1820) American Methodism was to advance to the front of the great "movement," with a majority of more than seventeen thousand over the parent Church, including all its foreign dependencies, and thenceforward the chief numerical triumphs of the denomination were to be in the western hemisphere.

But how came this singular people, speaking a foreign tongue, into the west of Ireland? The troops of Louis XIV., under Turenne, devastated, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Palatinate, on the Rhine. Its population was almost entirely Protestant; the strongest reason for the relentless violence of the bigoted monarch and his army. The whole country was laid waste; the Elector Palatine could see from the towers of Manheim, his capital, no less than two cities and twenty-five villages on fire at once. The peaceable peasants fled before the invaders by thousands to the lines of the English general, Marlborough. Queen Anne sent ships to convey them from Rotterdam to England. More than six thousand arrived in London, reduced to dependent poverty. The sympathy of Protestant

England relieved their sufferings, and commissioners were appointed by the government to provide for them. They were encamped and fed on Blackheath and Camberwell Commons. Popish rule and persecution followed the invasion of the Palatinate, and thousands more of its virtuous and thrifty peasants deserted it for refuge in England and other countries. Nearly three thousand were sent by the British government to America in 1710, and became valuable additions to the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. Of those who remained in England about fifty families emigrated to Ireland, where they settled, near Rathkeale, in the county of Limerick. They were allowed eight acres for each person, young and old, for which they were to pay a small annual rent to the proprietor, Lord Southwell. The government paid their rents for twenty years, made them freeholders, and furnished each man with a musket, enrolling him in the free yeomanry of the county as "German Fusileers." A list of those who "settled contiguous to each other on Lord Southwell's estates" has been published; on it are the names of Embury, Heck, Ruckle, Sweitzer, Guier, and others associated with the original Methodists of New York. An Irish historian represents them as industrious, "better fed and clothed than the generality of Irish peasants. . . . Their houses are remarkably clean, to which they have a stable, cow-houses, a

lodge for their plow, and neat kitchen gardens. The women are very industrious. In short, the Palatines have benefited the country by increasing tillage, and are a laborious, independent people, who are mostly employed on their own small farms." Such was the origin of the "Irish Palatines," and thus did the short-sighted policy of Louis XIV. scatter these sterling Protestants of the Rhine to bless other lands, as his bigoted folly, in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, sent half a million of his own best subjects to enrich, by their skill and virtues, Switzerland, Germany, England, and the North American colonies. His attempt to suppress Protestantism in the Palatinate led, through the emigration of these Irish settlers, to one of the most energetic developments of Protestantism recorded in the modern history of religion.*

In this singular community was born, in 1734, Barbara Ruckle, at a place called, after her family, Ruckle Hill, in Balligarrane. She was strictly educated in the Methodist faith, which had so thoroughly reformed the colony, and had made it the garden spot of the county. When a maiden of but eighteen years she openly took upon herself the vows of her faith, joining the "Society," and professing and exemplifying a regenerated life, little supposing, in the humble obscurity of herself and her people, that her

* See History of the M. E. Church, vol. i, 48.

youthful fidelity was to be rewarded by pre-eminent usefulness and distinction in the religious history of the distant New World. From the beginning of her Christian life her piety was of the purest and profoundest character. The Wesleyan doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit was the inward personal test of piety among the Methodists of that day; it was the daily criterion of the spiritual life of Barbara Heck, and when, in extreme age, she was about to close her life-pilgrimage, in the remote wilds of Canada, after assisting in the foundation of her Church in that province, as well as in the United States, she could say to the growing circles of Methodists around her, that she had never lost the evidence of her acceptance with God, for twenty-four hours together, from the day of her conversion. She was of a thoughtful and serious habit of mind, calm, self-recollected, quietly resolute. She had, through her entire Christian life, intervals of sadness and of severe mental conflict; and there are traditions among her descendants which show that these trials were not unlike those of the great Reformer when enduring the "hour and power of darkness" in the castle of Wartburgh. Her German Bible, her familiar companion to the end of her days, was her consolation in these ordeals, and prayer her habitual resource; it was her rule always to persist in the latter till she prevailed.

Thus marked by strong natural character and un-

common piety, she was early recognized among her Palatine associates as a religious guide and counselor of her sex—"a mother in Israel," before she attained middle age. In 1760, when about twenty-six years old, she was married to Paul Heck, a devout member of the Teutonic community, and in the same year they departed, with a company of their neighbors, for the New World. God was leading her on her unknown but momentous mission. An Irish writer, familiar with the local history of the "Palatines," has described the scene of the embarkation. "On a spring morning of 1760," he says, "a group of emigrants might have been seen at the custom-house quay, Limerick, preparing to embark for America. At that time emigration was not so common an occurrence as it is now, and the excitement connected with their departure was intense. They were Palatines from Balligarrane, and were accompanied to the vessel's side by crowds of their companions and friends, some of whom had come sixteen miles to say 'farewell' for the last time. One of those about to leave—a young man, with a thoughtful look and resolute bearing—is evidently the leader of the party, and more than an ordinary pang is felt by many as they bid him farewell. He had been one of the first-fruits of his countrymen to Christ, the leader of the infant Church, and in their humble chapel had often ministered to

them the word of life. He is surrounded by his spiritual children and friends, who are anxious to have some parting words of counsel and instruction. He enters the vessel, and from its side once more breaks among them the bread of life. And now the last prayer is offered; they embrace each other; the vessel begins to move. As she recedes uplifted hands and uplifted hearts attest what all felt. But none of all that vast multitude felt more, probably, than that young man. His name is Philip Embury. His party consisted of his wife, Mary Sweitzer, to whom he had been married on the 27th of November, 1758, in Rathkeale Church; two of his brothers and their families; Peter Sweitzer, probably a brother of his wife; Paul Heck and Barbara his wife; Valer Tettler; Philip Morgan, and a family of the Dulmages. The vessel arrived safely in New York on the 10th of August, 1760. Who that pictures before his mind that first band of Christian emigrants leaving the Irish shore but must be struck with the simple beauty of the scene? Yet who among the crowd that saw them leave could have thought that two of the little band were destined, in the mysterious providence of God, to influence for good countless myriads, and that their names should live long as the sun and moon endure? Yet so it was. That vessel contained Philip Embury, the first Class-leader and local preacher of Methodism on the American

continent, and Barbara Heck, 'a mother in Israel,' one of its first members, the germ from which, in the good providence of God, has sprung the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States; a Church which has now, more or less under its influence, about seven millions of the germinant mind of that new and teeming hemisphere! 'There shall be a handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon: and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth.'"

Philip Embury justly ranks as founder of American Methodism, but Barbara Heck may even take precedence of him as its foundress. Embury, though a local preacher, as well as a class-leader, in Ireland, seems to have quickly lost his zeal, or to have become discouraged, in the new country; a diffident man, he shrank from responsibility, and needed a prompter. On his arrival some of his companions were dispersed, and others fell from their steadfastness in the temptations of their novel condition. Not only months but some years passed without an earnest effort to save them, or to reorganize them in the disciplinary forms of their old Irish home. Barbara Heck maintained, during all this interval, her religious life, her daily internal evidence of acceptance with God, clinging to her old German Bible. It can hardly be doubted that she often

remonstrated with Embury and the other Palatine exiles about their religious negligence and indifference; but they were few, obscure, without a place of worship, and without means to provide one, and she was a modest though earnest woman. Some more urgent provocation was necessary that might justify her more energetic interference. This at last occurred in 1766. Dr. Roberts has recorded the authentic facts of the case: "The families who accompanied Embury," he says, "were not all Wesleyans — only a few of them; the remainder were members of the Protestant Church in Ireland, but made no profession of an experimental knowledge of God, in the pardon of sin and adoption. After their arrival in New York, with the exception of Embury and three or four others, they all finally lost their sense of the fear of God, and became open worldlings. Some subsequently fell into greater depths of sin than others. Late in the year 1765 another vessel arrived in New York, bringing over Paul Ruckle, Luke Rose, Jacob Heck, Peter Barkman, and Henry Williams, with their families. These were Palatines, some of them relatives of Embury, and others his former friends and neighbors. A few of them only were Wesleyans. Mrs. Barbara Heck, who had been residing in New York since 1760, visited them frequently. One of the company, Paul Ruckle, was her eldest brother. It was when visiting them on

one of these occasions that she found some of the party engaged in a game of cards; there is no proof, either direct or indirect, that any of them were Wesleyans, and connected with Embury. Her spirit was roused, and, doubtless emboldened by her long and intimate acquaintance with them in Ireland, she seized the cards, threw them into the fire, and then most solemnly warned them of their danger and duty. Leaving them, she went immediately to the dwelling of Embury, who was her cousin. It was located upon Barrack-street, now Park Place. After narrating what she had seen and done, under the influence of the Divine Spirit and with power she appealed to him to be no longer silent, but to preach the word forthwith. She parried his excuses, and urged him to commence at once in his own house, and to his own people. He consented, and she went out and collected four persons, who constituted his audience. After singing and prayer he preached to them, and enrolled them in a class. He continued thereafter to meet them weekly. Embury was not among the card-players, nor in the same house with them."

The names of this first of the congregations of American Methodism have never, I believe, been reported in any of our denominational books; but they have been ascertained and may well be recorded, for the little group prefigured the future mission

of Methodism in its widespread assemblies throughout the New World, as preaching the Gospel to the poor. Small as it was, it included black and white, bond and free; while it was also an example of that lay ministration of religion which has extended the denomination in all quarters of the world, and of that agency of woman, which, as we have seen, Wesley organized, and to which an inestimable proportion of the vitality and power of the Church is attributable. The name of Barbara Heck is first on the list; with her was her husband, Paul Heck; beside him sat John Lawrence, his "hired man;" and by her side an African servant called "Betty." Such, let it ever be remembered, was the germ and type of the congregations of Methodism which now stud the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Mexican Gulf almost to the perpetual snows of the north; they could hardly have had a more fitting prototype.

The subsequent growth of this obscure germ, until it "shakes like Lebanon" over all the land, has been the subject of too exciting a story not to have become familiar to us all, if not to all the religious world. History records how the little company soon grew too large for Embury's house; how they hired a more commodious room, which was immediately crowded; how, in a few months, there were two "classes" meeting regularly, one of men, the other

of women, comprising six or seven members each; that no little excitement began quickly to prevail in the city on account of these meetings, calling out Embury to preach elsewhere, for the lower classes of the people received the word gladly; that in 1767 the humble assembly was startled, if not alarmed, by the appearance of a military officer in regimentals among them, but who turned out to be the good and brave Captain Webb, one of Wesley's local preachers, who afterward took his stand at Embury's preaching-desk, or table, with his sword on it by the side of the open Bible, and preached three times a week in a manner that soon roused the whole city, and who thenceforward, for nearly ten years, was to be the chief founder of Methodism on this continent, preaching its doctrines in New York, on Long Island, through New Jersey, in Philadelphia, through Delaware and Maryland, and in Baltimore—"The old soldier . . . one of the most eloquent men I ever heard," said President John Adams. The famous Rigging Loft, on William-street, relics of which are now precious mementoes throughout the Methodist world, was hired in 1767 to accommodate the increasing throngs of hearers; but "it could not," says a contemporary authority, "contain half the people who desired to hear the word of the Lord." Webb saw the necessity of a chapel; but he was anticipated in the design by Barbara Heck, who had watched

devoutly the whole progress of the infant society thus far. From the time that, "falling prostrate" before Embury, and "entreating him with tears to preach to them," she had recalled him to his duty by the solemn admonition, "God will require our blood at your hand," she seems to have anticipated, with the spirit of a prophetess, the great possible results of Methodism in the New World. Seeing the growth of the cause and the importance of a permanent temple, "she had made," she said, "the enterprise a matter of prayer; and looking to the Lord for direction, had received with inexpressible sweetness and power the answer, 'I the Lord will do it.'" In the fervor of her wishes and prayers, an economical plan for the edifice was devised in her mind. She considered it a suggestion from God. It was approved by the society, and the first structure of the denomination in the western hemisphere was a monumental image of the humble thought of this devoted woman. Webb entered heartily into the undertaking. It would probably not have been attempted without his aid. He subscribed thirty pounds toward it, the largest sum by one third given by any one person. He was one of its original trustees, Embury being first on the list—first trustee, first treasurer, first class-leader, and first preacher. They leased the site on John-street in 1768, and purchased it in 1770. They appealed suc-

cessfully to the citizens of New York for assistance, and nearly two hundred and fifty names are still preserved on the subscription paper, including all classes, from the mayor down to African female servants, known only by their Christian names, besides the primitive Methodists, Lupton, Sause, White, Heck, Jarvis, Newton, Sands, Staples, Brinkley, etc. Paul Heck subscribed £3 5s. The highest ranks of the New York social life of the times are honored on this humble memorial — the Livingstons, Duanes, Delanceys, Laights, Stuyvesants, Lispenards, and the clergy of the day, Auchmuty, Ogilvie, Inglis, and others.

The chapel was built of stone, faced with blue plaster. It was sixty feet in length, forty-two in breadth. Dissenters were not yet allowed to erect "regular churches" in the city; the new building was therefore provided with "a fireplace and chimney" to avoid "the difficulty of the law." Though long unfinished in its interior, it was "very neat and clean, and the floor was sprinkled over with sand as white as snow." Embury, being a skillful carpenter, "wrought" diligently upon the structure; and Barbara Heck, rejoicing in the work of her hands, helped to whitewash its walls. Embury constructed with his own hands its pulpit; and on the memorable 30th of October, 1768, mounted the desk he had made, and dedicated the humble temple by a sermon

on Hosea x, 12: "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground, for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and rain righteousness upon you." The house was soon thronged. Within two years from its consecration we have reports of at least a thousand hearers crowding it and the area in its front. It was named Wesley Chapel, and was the first in the world that bore that title. Seven months after its dedication a letter to Wesley, concerning Embury and Webb, said, "The Lord carries on a very great work by these two men." The city at this time contained about twenty thousand inhabitants, the colonies but about three millions. Methodism was thenceforward to grow alike with the growth of the city and of the continent.

Embury continued to minister faithfully in this chapel twice or thrice a week. "There were at first no stairs or breastwork to the galleries;" they were ascended by a rude ladder. "Even the seats on the lower floor had no backs." The "singing was congregational; some one set the tune, the rest joined in, and they made melody to the Lord." There was no vestry nor class-room; "the classes met in private houses." A parsonage, adjacent to the chapel, was erected in 1770—a small house, furnished chiefly with articles given or lent by the people. It was to be the occasional home of Board-

man and Pilmoor, of Shadford and Rankin, of Asbury and Coke, and their fellow-itinerants; who, being mostly unmarried men, found it sufficiently convenient.

The success of Methodism in New York, and its rapid southward spread, excited no little interest in England, and Wesley sent over his first American missionaries, to take charge of the new Societies, in the autumn of 1769. They were hailed with delight by the Methodists of the city; Embury gladly surrendered to them his pulpit, and the next year removed to the town of Salem, Washington county, New York. Thither he was accompanied by Peter Sweitzer, Abraham Bininger, (a Moravian, who had crossed the Atlantic to Georgia with Wesley in 1735,) and Paul and Barbara Heck. Their new home was remote, in the wilderness, but they forgot not their providential mission; they began again their good work of founding Methodism. Embury, sustained by his faithful friends, labored as a local preacher, and formed a society, chiefly of his old associates, at Ashgrove—the first Methodist class within the bounds of the Troy Conference, which in our day reports more than 25,000 communicants, and more than 200 traveling preachers. He was held in high estimation by his neighbors, and officiated among them not only as a preacher, but as a magistrate. While mowing in his field in 1775 he injured him-

self so severely as to die suddenly, aged but forty-five years, "greatly beloved and much lamented," says Asbury. He was buried on the neighboring farm of his Palatine friend, Peter Sweitzer. After reposing fifty-seven years in his solitary grave without a memorial, his remains were disinterred with solemn ceremonies, and borne by a large procession to the Ashgrove burial ground, where their resting-place is marked by a monument, recording that he "was the first to set in motion a train of measures which resulted in the founding of John-street Church, the cradle of American Methodism, and the introduction of a system which has beautified the earth with salvation, and increased the joys of heaven."

John Lawrence, a devoted Methodist, who accompanied Embury from Ireland, married his widow, and with the Hecks, and others of the society at Ashgrove, left the United States at the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, for Lower Canada, where they remained (mostly in Montreal) about eleven years. In 1785 they again journeyed into the wilderness and settled on "Lot No. 4, 3d Concession," of what is now the town of Augusta, in Upper Canada. Here their peculiar work, their "providential mission," as I have ventured to call it, was resumed. They were still pioneers and founders of Methodism; and in the house of John and Catherine Lawrence (the widow of Embury) was organized the first

"class" of Augusta, and Samuel Embury, the son of Philip, was its first leader; Paul and Barbara Heck were among its first members, and their three sons were also recorded on its roll. They were thus to anticipate and, in part, prepare the way for the Methodist itinerancy in Canada, as they had at New York city and in Northern New York; for William Losee, the first regular Methodist preacher in Canada, did not enter the province till 1790. The germ of Canadian Methodism was planted by these memorable families five or six years before Losee's arrival.*

In entering Canada in 1790 Losee probably crossed the St. Lawrence at St. Regis, for it seems that he preached in Matilda, Augusta, and Elizabethtown, and then passed up to Kingston, and thence to Adolphustown, where his kindred resided. A Methodist preacher was a curiosity in those days, says the historian of the Church in Canada,† and all were anxious to see the phenomenon. "Some would even ask how he looked, or what he was like. A peculiarity in Losee, too, was that he had but one arm; and yet with one hand to use, he could readily mount and dismount his horse, and guide him over the roughest roads and most dangerous crossways. He was a bold horseman, and usually rode his journeys

* I correct here an error in my History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, ii, 400.

† Playter's "History of Methodism in Canada."

on the gallop. Yet he was a man of very solemn aspect, with straight hair, a long countenance, and grave voice. His talents were not so much for sermonizing as for exhortation. He, and the preachers generally of that day, were of the revival class, laboring, looking, praying for immediate results. His private rebukes were often of a very solemn character. It was the custom of the preachers then to use the word 'smite' in their prayers and sermons. So Losee would often cry, 'Lord, smite them!' and sinners would often be smitten, by the Spirit of God, with conviction of sin and terror of the last judgment. The man, his manner, and his style of preaching, caught the attention of the settlers, and young and old filled the houses where he preached. Having preached a few times, he spoke of leaving. The people were now anxious for a missionary to reside among them. A petition was circulated and extensively signed in the midland district, praying the New York Conference for a missionary to labor in these new townships." Losee received it, and returned to the United States the same winter.

In 1791, however, Losee was on his way back as soon as the ice of the St. Lawrence was firm enough to allow him to cross with his horse. He traversed the wilds of New York, enduring severe hardships, and passed over the river below Lake Ontario, to Kingston, and in February was rejoicing again

among his friends at Adolphustown. He was yet young, being but about twenty-seven years of age. He flamed with zeal for his new and great work, and had no cares but those of his office, being unmarried. Giving himself wholly to his mission, he immediately formed a circuit, making "appointments" at every opening. Great effects followed, and Methodism was effectively and permanently established in the province.

Losee did not return to his conference in 1791; he was too far away, and too busily employed; but his ministerial brethren remembered him, and elected him to deacon's orders, though his ordination must be indefinitely postponed. His new circuit is recorded in the Minutes as "Kingston," and, oddly enough, is placed under the presiding eldership of Jesse Lee, who had now entered New England. Kingston, in Upper Canada, therefore appears on the record in juxtaposition with Lynn, on the seacoast of Massachusetts. Distance was a small affair in the itinerant schemes of those times. Lee, however, never reached his solitary preacher in the woods of the northwestern frontier.

The Methodist itinerancy was thus initiated in Canada. Its first Methodist chapel was erected at Adolphustown, in 1792. The subscription paper for this edifice is still extant. It bears the names of Embury, Bininger, Roblin, Huff, Vandusen, Steele,

Rutton, [Ruckle,] Ketcheson, and others, memorable in the early history of the denomination. In the same month the second chapel was begun in Ernestown, for the accommodation of the eastern part of the circuit, the first being at its western end. Both structures were of the same size, thirty-six feet by thirty, two stories high, with galleries. Losee returned to the conference of 1792 bearing cheering reports of his great field. The Minutes record a hundred and sixty-five members in his societies; his circuit was divided into two, and he hastened back with Darius Dunham as his colleague. Vast results were to follow; gigantic laborers to appear in the opening wilderness; circuits and societies to keep pace with the advancing frontier, and to reach eastward to Quebec; Indian missions to arise; Methodist chapels, many of them elegant edifices, to dot the country; a book concern, periodical organs, a university, and academies to be provided, and Methodism to become numerically the predominant faith of the people, comprising one fourth of the population.

Paul Heck died at Augusta, in the peace of the Gospel, in 1792, aged sixty-two years. "He was," says a correspondent,* "an upright, honest man, whose word was as good as his bond." Barbara Heck survived him about twelve years, and died at

* Rev. John Carroll, of Canada, to the author.

the residence of her son, Samuel Heck, in "front of Augusta," in 1804, aged seventy years. Her death was befitting her life; her old German Bible, the guide of her youth in Ireland, her resource during the falling away of her people in New York, her inseparable companion in all her wanderings in the wildernesses of Northern New York and Canada, was her oracle and comfort to the last. She was found sitting in her chair dead, with the well-used and endeared volume open on her lap. And thus passed away this devoted, obscure, and unpretentious woman, who so faithfully, yet unconsciously, laid the foundations of one of the grandest ecclesiastical structures of modern ages, and whose name will last with ever-increasing brightness as "long as the sun and moon endure."

The Embury and Heck families, so singularly joined together in our religious history, have blended in several neighborhoods, and the descendants of both families are now widely scattered in the Churches of Upper and Lower Canada. "Mrs. Hick, wife of the late Rev. John Hick, Wesleyan minister, Mrs. M'Kenzie, Mrs. John Torrance, and Mrs. Lunn, all grandchildren of Philip Embury, died happy in God. They have left numerous descendants in Montreal and through Canada highly respected. Philip Embury's great-great-grandson, John Torrance, Jr., Esq., now fills the honorable and responsible position of

treasurer and trustee steward of three of our large Wesleyan churches in this city."*

Paul and Barbara Heck had five children, namely: "Elizabeth, born in New York, in 1765; John, born in the same place, in 1767; Jacob, born there, 1769; Samuel, in Camden, N. Y., 28th July, 1771; and Nancy, at the same place, 1772. They are all now dead: Elizabeth and Nancy died in Montreal; Samuel and Jacob in Augusta; and John, unmarried, in Georgia, U. S., as early as 1805. Jacob married a Miss Shorts, who, with himself, rests in the country graveyard of the Old Blue Church, where rest also Paul and Barbara Heck. Samuel married a Miss Wright; the same may be said of their interment. But three of Jacob's children survive; six of Samuel's are still living. His son Samuel was a probationer in the Wesleyan ministry when he was called to his reward; his precious dust also lies in this graveyard. He was eminently pious, a clear-headed theologian, and a methodical preacher of some promise. It must not be forgotten that the elder Samuel was an eminent local minister for more than forty years, who, by his consistency, earned the meed of universal respect; and from none more than his immediate neighbors, to whom he preached nearly every second Sabbath during the whole of the time indicated. He was slow, solemn, weighty, yet genial

* Letter of John Matthewson, Montreal, Christ. Ad., Jan. 11, 1866.

and very hearable. Jacob was one of the best read men we ever had the happiness to converse with, and one whose conversation was as lively and playful as it was instructive. We never saw a finer old man. We imagine we can now see his venerable white head, stooping form, and sparkling dark eyes, and also hear his ringing, hearty laugh. He showed his amiability by his fondness for little children, who were equally fond of him. The ten surviving grandchildren of Paul and Barbara Heck are pious, and many of their great grandchildren also. For the reasons we have assigned, this graveyard will be dear to every heart with which Methodism and the cause of God are regarded as identical. Canada is highly honored in having the guardianship of the sacred dust of persons who were instrumental in kindling that fire which has broken forth into such a glorious conflagration on this continent. It is, however, to the shame of Canadian Methodists, that no worthy memorial has been erected ere this to the honor of Paul and Barbara Heck." *

Every trace of the Embury and Heck families, however vague, has become precious to American Methodists. There is now in the possession of the author a private letter, dated in 1855, from Rev. William Case, one of the chief early Methodist preachers of Canada, from which I extract a pas-

* Christian Guardian, Canada.

sage which affords some interesting allusions to them as well as to other historic names of the denomination: "During the winter just passing I have enjoyed the unspeakable pleasure of visiting the scenes of our early labors, yours and mine. I passed through Hallowell, Belleville, Kingston, Elizabethtown, Brockville, Augusta, Matilda, and thence to Bytown, (Ottawa City;) thence to Perth and Wolford, on the Rideau; then home through a portion of the northern new settlements. In this route I found some, though few, of our former relig ious friends now living. Arthur Youmans, Rufus Shorey, Mrs. M'Lean, (formerly widow Coate,) and William Brown are yet living, at the ages of from eighty to ninety-one. Youmans (of the latter age) was one of the members of the first class formed in Hallowell, January, 1793, by Darius Dunham. A class paper of the same class was written by Elijah Wolsey in 1795. But the parents of the Johnsons, Congers, Van Deusens, Robins, Germans, Huffs, Emburys, Detlors, Clarkes, Parrots, Maddens, Kedders, Colemans, Hecks, Coons, Brouses, Aults, Dulmages, Laurences, are all gone; yet they live in their example of piety, integrity, hospitality, and Christian benevolence. These virtues are prominent to a great extent in their numerous descendants. The progeny bears a striking impress of their worthy patriarchal fathers. You will remember the

names of Samuel and Jacob Heck of Augusta, and the Emburys of Bay of Quinte—the former the sons of Paul Heck and his worthy companion, the parents of Methodism in the city of New York and in America. The parents are gone, and the sons have followed them in the way of holiness to glory; but a numerous train of grandchildren are pursuing the Christian course 'their fathers trod'—intelligent, pious, and wealthy. '*Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.*' A few years since I visited John Embury and his worthy companion. He was then ninety-eight years old. The scenes of early Methodism in New York were vivid in his recollection, and he referred to them as readily as if they had recently occurred. He said: 'My uncle, Philip Embury, was a great man—a powerful preacher—a very powerful preacher. I had heard many ministers before, but nothing reached my heart till I heard my Uncle Philip preach. I was then about sixteen. The Lord has since been my trust and portion. I am now ninety-eight. Yes, my Uncle Philip was a great preacher.' After this interview he lived about a year, and died suddenly, as he rose from prayer in his family, at the age of ninety-nine. The Emburys, Detlors, Millers, Maddens, Sweitzers, of Bay of Quinte, are numerous and pious, and some of them ministers of the Gospel, all firmly grounded in Methodism. Their Palatine

origin is prominent in their health, integrity, and industry."

A writer in the "Christian Guardian," Canada, thus speaks of the Old Blue Church graveyard, where Barbara Heck and many of her historic companions repose. "There is not a more beautiful part of Canada than that which skirts the majestic St. Lawrence, from Brockville to Prescott, a distance of twelve miles. The land rises gently from the noble river, is in the highest cultivation, thoroughly cleared of the primeval forest, ornamented with sightly fences, stone walls, good buildings, fine orchards, and in many places the road is adorned with beautiful shade trees—the maple, now and then an elm, the pine, and a considerable profusion of the steeple-like Lombardy poplar. About midway between the thriving and sightly town of Prescott and the picturesque little village of Maitland is situated what is called 'The Old Blue Church Graveyard.' This is ground which was probably set apart for what was then believed to be the Established Church of the Province, in the early settlement of the country; but, though part of a 'glebe lot,' and claimed by Episcopalians, all sections of community bury there as a matter of right. This ground once exhibited a sizable wooden church, the remains of which I have seen. The building once wore a coat of blue paint —hence its name, 'The Blue Church.' It was de-

molished several years ago, and a diminutive church-like building erected nearer the road, out of the materials, for the convenience of reading the burial service at funerals — that is, by our Episcopalian friends, who enjoy the exclusive right to enter it. The original forest trees which covered this spot of yore were cleared away by the hands of some whose remains, palsied by the hand of death, now rest amid the roots of the fallen monarchs of the woods; but the second growth of pines, which has since sprung up, and now nearly canopy it with their spreading branches, tower to the height of forty or fifty feet. It is a lovely spot. Here lie buried, not 'the rude forefathers' of Augusta's present inhabitants merely, but many men of mark among the early settlers of the country, particularly many early Methodist worthies. The spot is especially remarkable as containing all that was mortal of several of the most distinguished of the German Irish Methodists or Palatines, who came to New York in 1760 and following years, where they constituted the first Methodist Society. Here lie the remains of the once beautiful Catharine Sweitzer, married at the early age of sixteen to Philip Embury, the apostle of Methodism in the city of New York, on the eve of his embarkation for America; also those of the much respected John Lawrence, a pious young man who left Ireland in company with the Emburys, and whc

married Mrs. Embury. Here also lie Paul and Barbara Heck, who were among the more prominent founders of the New York society, and some of their descendants."

Apparently the same authority writes later as follows in the same journal: "I had the pleasure of feasting my eyes once more with the mellow beauties of the environs of the Old Blue Church Graveyard. It is true the old church has long since passed away, and only a tiny chapel, for funeral services, occupies its place. But there lies still the sunny sidehill spot, partly shaded with negligently beautiful pines. Within it lie not only 'the rude forefathers' of the surrounding settlements, but many of the leading minds, religious and secular, of their infant Canada. Yes, here lie old Dr. Henderson and many of his descendants; and David Brakenridge, Esq., the magistrate and preacher, who, I remarked his tombstone says, died in 1833, at the age of seventy. But here lie also Paul and Barbara Heck, the founders of Methodism in New York, Cambridge, near Lake Champlain, and Augusta, Canada. Two of their sons, Jacob and Samuel, with their wives and some of their children, lie here. Here also lies the Rev. Thomas Madden, one of the first Canadians who became an itinerant, with his two angel daughters, Hester and Eliza, by his side. But the time would fail to enumerate all who

lie around them. Many in that truly consecrated ground will shine like the firmament in the morning of the resurrection. From the graveyard I bent my steps to the Heck homesteads, for there are two, side by side, facing on the majestic St. Lawrence. Jacob's, who was the elder of the two brothers, is nearer to the graveyard. He had lived in Lower Canada longer than the rest of the family, and when he made him a home in the Upper Province, he brought with him Franco-Canadian ideas of domestic architecture. In fact, I suppose the original type of the house is Norman. It deserves the name of 'hall' much better than many barracks in England rejoicing in that title. It stands on a knoll, quite near the river. It is a large, tall, two-storied stone building, with a very steep roof, folding windows, and massive walls. The out-buildings are in good repair, but the large, aged, and irregular planted Lombardy poplars around have begun to decay, producing a melancholy impression. This melancholy is deepened when the returning acquaintance of other years enters, and misses the benignant eye and intelligent face of the gray-haired proprietor, and most of all, misses his wondrously fascinating conversation. The mother, and several of the precious daughters, too, are missed. But two of the family linger in that homestead. The once beautiful, but still lady-like and noble, Catherine

survives, who, in early life, sacrificed an affluent and respectable settlement, because she foresaw it would be adverse to her spiritual interests. Though now aged and infirm, her conversation is religiously cheerful, while her countenance bespeaks the most abiding happiness. Her religious hopes and sentiments are shared by her younger sister Frances, who is scarcely less infirm than she. May time deal gently with these ladies, and Jehovah crown their closing years with peace! Things are more modern, vital, and progressive in Samuel's late estate. The house is more modern, and the environs more beautiful, but not more interesting. The broad acres around are well and scientifically cultivated. George Heck, Esq., the youngest grandson of the renowned Paul and Barbara, is the presiding and active genius of the place. Besides his lovely wife and children, two married sisters, Hester and Mary Ann, patterns of well-read and intelligent piety, remain to remind one of their parents. This is one of the too few Methodist families in which the simple piety of their worthy parents has not deteriorated along with increasing knowledge and refinement."

The Methodists of Canada who in 1804 bore Barbara Heck to her grave in the old Blue Church-yard, might well have exclaimed, "What hath God wrought!" The cause which she had been instru-

mental in founding had already spread out from New York city over the whole of the United States, and over much of both Canadas. It comprised seven annual conferences, four hundred traveling preachers, and more than one hundred and four thousand members. But if we estimate its results in our day, as we have those of Wesleyan and Calvinistic Methodism, in our sketches of their respective foundresses, we shall see that it has pleased God to encircle the name of this lowly woman with a halo of pre-eminent honor; for American Methodism has far transcended all other divisions of the Methodistic movement. At the close of its first hundred years its "centenary book" records that Embury's little congregation of five persons, in his own house, has multiplied to thousands of societies, from the northernmost settlements of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, from Nova Scotia to California. The first small conference of 1773, with its 10 preachers and its 1,160 reported members, has multiplied to 60 conferences, 6,821 itinerant, 8,205 local preachers, and 928,320 members in the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, exclusive of the Southern, the Canadian, and minor branches, all the offspring of the Church founded in 1766 and episcopally organized in 1784. It has property in churches and parsonages amounting to about $27,000,000. It has 25 colleges and theological schools, with property amounting to $3,055,000; 158 instructors, and 5,345

students; and 77 academies, with 556 instructors and 17,761 students; making a body of 714 instructors, and an army of 23,106 students. Its church property (churches, parsonages, and colleges, aside from its 77 academies and Book Concern) amounts to $30,055,000. Its Book Concern has a capital of $837,000; 500 publishing agents, editors, clerks, and operatives; with some thirty cylinder power presses in constant operation, about 2,000 different books on its catalogue, besides tracts, etc.; 14 periodicals, with an aggregate circulation of more than 1,000,000 copies per month.* Its Sunday-School Union comprises 13,400 schools, more than 150,000 instructors, nearly 918,000 pupils, and more than 2,500,000 library books; it issues nearly 2,500 publications, besides a monthly circulation of nearly 300,000 numbers of its periodicals. Its Missionary Society has 1,059 circuits and stations, 1,128 paid laborers, and 105,675 communicants. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has published no statistics since the rebellion broke out; it has doubtless suffered much by the war, but it reported, the last year before the rebellion, nearly 700,000 Church members, nearly 2,600 itinerant and 5,000 local preachers. It had 12 periodical publications, 12 colleges, and 77 academies, with 8,000 students. Its Missionary

* There are five independent weekly papers in the Church besides the above number of "official" periodicals.

Society sustained, at home and abroad, about 360 missionaries, and 8 manual labor schools, with nearly 500 pupils. According to these figures the two great Episcopal divisions of the denomination have had, at their latest reports, 1,628,320 members, 9,421 traveling, and 13,205 local preachers, with 191 colleges and academies, and 31,106 students.

The Canada Wesleyan Church for many years belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church; it now reports more than 56,000 members, 500 itinerant preachers, and 750 Sunday-schools with about 45,000 pupils; a university, a female college, and a Book Concern with its weekly periodical. Another branch of Canadian Methodism, the "Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada," equally the child of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, reports 3 annual conferences, 2 bishops, 216 traveling, and 224 local preachers, and 20,000 members; a seminary and female college, and a weekly newspaper. The Canadian Wesleyan Methodist New Connection Church reports 90 traveling and 147 local preachers, and 8,450 communicants. It sustains a weekly paper and a theological school.

The other Methodist bodies, in the United States, are the Methodist Protestant Church, the American Wesleyan Methodists, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and some three or four smaller sects; their aggregate membership amounting to about

260,000, their preachers to 3,423. Adding the traveling preachers to the membership, there are now in the United States about 1,901,164 Methodist communicants. Adding three non-communicant members of its congregations for each communicant, it has under its influence 7,604,656 souls, nearly one fourth of the whole national population. Aggregately there are now in the United States and Canada, as the results of the Methodism of 1766, 1,972,770 Church members, 13,650 traveling preach ers, 15,000 local preachers, nearly 200 colleges and academies, and more than 30 periodical publications; 1,986,420 communicants, including preachers, and nearly 8,000,000 people. Meanwhile heroic men and women, in whose hearts the names of Embury and Barbara Heck are embalmed, represent the denomination as missionaries in most of the ends of the earth — in South America, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Africa, India, and China.

And thus it is in these times, as in the elder ages, that divine "strength is made perfect in weakness," and to all Methodists it may be said with peculiar emphasis: "Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to

confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in his presence. But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord." *

* 1 Cor. i, 26–31.

CHAPTER II.

ASBURY AND HIS FEMALE FRIENDS.

Asbury and Celibacy — Marriage and Location of his Preachers — His Character — His Influence over the Higher Classes of Families — Mary Wilmer — Mary Wallace — Mrs. Baker — Mary White — Sketch of Judge White's Family — Mrs. Senator Bassett — Services of her Family to Methodism — Bohemia Manor — Miss Ennalls — Introduction of Methodism into Dorchester County, Md. — Garrettson in Prison — Prudence Gough — Christian Life at Perry Hall — Sophia Gough — Asbury's Female Friends in Baltimore — Mrs. Moore — Mrs. Owings — Mrs. Triplett — Rachel Hulings — Mrs. Chamier — Martha F. Allison — Eleanor Dorsey — Extraordinary Example — Asbury among the Holston Mountains — First Conference beyond the Alleghanies — Mrs. General Russell.

ASBURY'S persistent celibacy, and his discouragement of marriage among the early Methodist preachers, have given rise to the suspicion that he was a man of unamiable heart, though of lofty soul and heroic character. The suspicion, however, is entirely at fault. It was "not his choice" to remain single, as he expressly says. He has recorded the reasons of this self-denial, and they do much credit to his great and tender heart. His official position in the Church during the days of its extremest poverty and struggle, and the necessity of his incessant travels, rendered it inexpedient for him to have a local home, and would

have been a hardly supportable discomfort to a family. "What right has any man to take advantage of the affections of a woman under such circumstances?" he asks. "It is neither just nor generous." "If I have done wrong," he adds, "I hope God and the sex will forgive me." In that day of trial in the Church he regretted, for similar reasons, the marriage of his preachers. "I calculate," he says, as early as 1805, "that we have lost the traveling labors of two hundred of the best men in America, or the world, by marriage and consequent location." His calculation was comparatively moderate, for by the close of the last century about five hundred of his preachers had died located, and many of the remainder were for a longer or shorter interval in the local ranks, but were able again to enter the itinerancy. In reading his journals we are continually reminded of his susceptibility to the most tender sentiments by frequent allusions to his female friendships. "Women ministered to him," as they did to his divine Master. They afforded him hundreds of temporary but hospitable homes, to which he delighted to return in his long routes, and often, as he advances in life, and as he recurs to his old and beloved places of entertainment, to find the place of the wife and mother vacant by death, his allusions break out with a passionate grief which nothing but his hope of reunion in heaven could relieve. They

are indeed among the most significant and touching illustrations of his character. Many such homes became as familiar and endeared to him as if he were connected with them by ties of the most intimate kindred; their wives and mothers were as beloved sisters or daughters. As was natural, these homes were generally, though not exclusively, among the higher classes of his people, and his semi-annual arrival was usually anticipated as a household festival. He had a notable power over such classes, and his personal influence probably brought more of them into the Church than that of all his ministerial associates together. His simple piety, his natural dignity and greatness of character, together with his fine conversational powers and cheerful humor, had a magical charm both to command respect and afford delight in any circle. His venerable traveling companion, Henry Boehm, says, "In private circles he would unbend, and relate amusing incidents and laugh most heartily. He said 'if he was as grave as Bishop M'Kendree he should live but a short time.' He would often indulge in a vein of innocent pleasantry."

He was dear even to the young people of such families. "He was very fond of children, and they of him. They would run to meet him and then receive his blessing; they gathered around his knees and listened to his conversation. He would some-

times place them on his knee, and teach them the following lesson:

'Learn to read, and learn to pray;
Learn to work, and learn to obey.'

Then he would show the benefit of learning these lessons. 'Learn to read, to make you wise; learn to pray, to make you good; learn to work, to get your living; learn to obey, that you may be obeyed." One day we were approaching a house, and a little boy saw us coming. He ran in and said, 'Mother, I want my face washed and a clean apron on, for Bishop Asbury is coming, and I am sure he will hug me up.' The bishop loved to hug the children to his heart, which always beat with such pure affection toward them. In this respect he strikingly resembled his Master, and was a fine model for ministers to follow."

The intelligent and wealthy households which habitually entertained him for nearly half a century in all parts of the country could be enumerated by scores. We can get but glimpses of them, however, from the too brief allusions of his journals; and the paucity of our early Church literature allows of no satisfactory commemoration of their hospitality. Soon after his arrival in the country he found, at Philadelphia, in the house of Lambert Wilmer, one of those asylums that for years was among his choice resorts in the city, for MARY

WILMER loved and served him as Mary of Bethany did the Great Teacher. Before the introduction of Methodism into America, Dr. Wrangle, a good Swedish missionary, afterward chaplain to his king, sent out by his government to minister to its emigrants in Philadelphia, had met Lambert Wilmer and loved him as a true disciple of the faith. The doctor appealed to Wesley in person, at a dinner table, on his way home through England, to send out Methodist missionaries to the colonies.* The zealous and catholic Swede had been preparing the way for Methodism in Philadelphia. John Hood had been converted under his ministry there; and the missionary had recommended him to the friendship of Wilmer, who was then a devoted young man of St. Paul's Church. The two youths became like David and Jonathan, and after years of Christian co-operation they mutually requested that they might rest in the same grave. Their Swedish friend, obtaining from Wesley the promise of a preacher, wrote back to them the good news, and advised them to become Methodists. They accordingly became founders of the new Church in Philadelphia, where their names are still venerated, and where they now sleep in one tomb under the Union Methodist Church.

Hood became one of the first four male members

* Wesley's Journals, October, 1768.

of the class in Philadelphia, and Wilmer soon after joined them. They were both on hand to welcome the missionaries of Wesley, and were among the founders and for many years the chief veterans of Old St. George's, the first Methodist Church of the city. "Lambert Wilmer," says Lednum, the local Church historian, "was a native of Maryland, but made Philadelphia his home. He was an officer in the militia, at the time of the struggle for independence, and was in the engagements at Germantown, Trenton, and Princeton. His first wife was a Miss Mary Barker, of the region of Salem, New Jersey. They were leaders of classes among the Methodists at an early day at St. George's. Mrs. Wilmer was a distinguished primitive Methodist in Philadelphia." As early as 1772, Asbury made Wilmer's house his home; and observes, "I was heavily afflicted, and dear Sister Wilmer took great care of me." She was the second female class-leader in the city—appointed to that office about 1775. In 1796 she triumphed over death, in her fifty-first year. She is still represented in the Methodist Episcopal Church by her descendants.

The elder Methodists of Philadelphia long delighted to talk of the virtues and services of Mary Wilmer the friend of Asbury. And there also was MARY WALLACE, who was hardly less dear to him. When long separated, and both were hoary with

age, they met briefly again to recall the old times. In 1813, as the Bishop was returning from New England, he came to Danville, where he found her unexpectedly, and says, "The wife of Daniel Montgomery is my old friend Molly Wallace, but ah! how changed in forty-two years!" He first saw her in 1771, when, most likely, she was the wife of Burton Wallace. This was when Asbury first landed in Philadelphia. Burton Wallace and his wife joined the first Society raised up in Philadelphia.

And there was also Mrs. JACOB BAKER, who ministered not only to Asbury but to Coke, and, in fine, to all the earliest itinerants who sojourned in the city. Many of the early ministerial and episcopal letters that remain are dated from her hospitable home, "No. 62 Front street, Philadelphia." Jacob Baker was a wholesale dry goods merchant, and among the most liberal supporters of the infant Church. The graves of the goodly couple are marked by marble slabs in the "Union Church" yard. They were "born the same year; 1753 was their natal year. They were married in 1773, when twenty years old. The same year he united himself with the Methodists. She had joined them the year before they were united in matrimony. After they had lived together in happy Christian union for forty-four years, she was called home in 1817 to enjoy the reward of righteousness. Her

companion survived her to mourn her loss for three years, when, in 1820, he followed her in triumph. She was sixty-four years old, and he was sixty-seven. They were among the excellent of the earth. Mr. Baker was remarkably benevolent; and, if he did not carry his benevolence as far as Anthony Benezet, of Chestnut street, who fed his rats, he was careful to "feed the hungry" of his own species, and abounded in good works. He was a member of the second board of trustees of St. George's; and, we presume, was a trustee of the Academy Church, after the Methodists bought it for $8,000 in 1801 or 1802. He was also the president of the board of trust of the Chartered Fund."

As Asbury extended his travels southward such friends and wayside homes multiplied, and not a few of them have become historical in the annals of the denomination. Mary White, Ann Ennalls Bassett, Prudence Gough, and many other names, continually meet the eye in our early biographies and journals. The mansion of the White family was the refuge of all the Methodist preachers of the last century in Delaware, and the central parts of the country generally, particularly during the stormy period of the Revolutionary War; it was especially such to Asbury at the darkest time of that struggle. As Methodists they were held responsible for Wesley's opposition to the Revolution, and the mob and

petty magistrates, swayed by political excitement, and many of them by sectarian jealousy, listened to no remonstrances or entreaties. The test-oaths required a pledge to take up arms, if called upon to do so by the authorities. Asbury, though well affected toward the colonial cause, could not consent to such a contingency. His conscience as a preacher of the Gospel forbade him. The peril at last came nearer home to him. In March, 1778, he writes, in retirement, at the house of his friend, Judge White, of Kent County, Delaware: "I intend to abide here for a season till the storm is abated. The grace of God is a sufficient support while I bear the reproach of men, and am rewarded evil for all the good which I have done, and desire to do for mankind. I am strongly persuaded that Divine Providence will bring about a change before long." On the 2d of April the light-horse patrol came to the house, and seizing Judge White, bore him off, leaving his wife and children with Asbury in great alarm. They observed together the next day as an occasion of fasting and prayer. On Saturday, April 4, Asbury says: "This was a day of much divine power and love to my soul. I was left alone, and spent part of every hour in prayer; and Christ was near and very precious." He "retreated into a neighboring swamp for some days," but returned to his hospitable shelter.

A contemporary authority, a witness of many of these sufferings of the Methodist itinerants, gives us a somewhat minute account of Asbury's present circumstances. "After having traveled and preached at large with all the zeal, fidelity, and caution which prudence could dictate, he, being much suspected as an Englishman, had at length to retire, in a great measure, for a season, until the indignation was overpast. The spirit of the times was such that he could not safely continue to travel openly. In the year 1778, when the storm was at its highest, and persecution raged furiously, he advisedly confined himself chiefly to the little state of Delaware, where the laws were rather more favorable, and the rulers and influential men were somewhat more friendly. For a time he had even there to keep himself much retired. He found an asylum in the house of his fast and firm friend, Thomas White, Esq., one of the judges of the court in Kent County. He was a pious man, and his wife one of the holiest of women. They were great friends to the cause of religion, and to the preachers generally. From this place of retreat he could correspond with his suf fering brethren who were scattered abroad. He could also occasionally travel about, visiting the Societies, and sometimes preach to the people. He was accessible to all the preachers and his friends who came to see him; so that by means of corre-

spondence and visits they could communicate with one another for mutual counsel, comfort, and encouragement. In some of their movements they had to be very cautious; for they were watched as the partridge is watched by the hawk on the mountain. However, his manner of life was such as to procure him many friends, among whom were some of the most respectable characters in the state, and eventually he gained the good-will and confidence of the public generally, and of the principal officers of the state. Among those whose particular confidence he secured we might mention, with Judge White, the pious Judge Barratt, both of whom opened their houses for the brethren as homes, and protected the preachers, and exerted their influence in support of religion. Each of them was instrumental in having a preaching-house built in his respective neighborhood, which to this day are called White's meeting-house and Barratt's Chapel. We may also mention the late Richard Bassett, Esq., well known as a distinguished character, not only in the state, but in the United States. At different times he filled high and honorable stations. He was a lawyer of note, a legislator, judge, and a governor of Delaware. He was also a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, a senator in the first Congress, and a judge of the United States Court for the circuit comprising the Districts of

Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. Their friendship and confidential intercourse was intimate and uninterrupted till death, the one surviving the other but a few months. I mention these names, and many others might be mentioned, if time would permit, as a tribute of respect due to their memory, in order to give an idea how the Lord providentially favored Asbury and his brethren in raising up friends to open the way before them, that his word might go forth as a lamp that burneth. Their friendship and patronage not only extended to him, but to his suffering brethren generally; to the persecuted Societies, and to the weeping cause of religion. Under their fostering protection bleeding Zion smiled in the midst of tears." The ladies of these households were their priestesses, and nourished and consoled God's sojourning prophets.

The family of Judge White, which thus gave refuge to Asbury, and to not a few of his brethren, during these stormy times, was one of the most notable in the early days of Methodism. Like that of Gough, at Perry Hall; of Bassett, at Bohemia Manor; and of Barratt, at "Barratt's Chapel," Kent, its name continually recurs in the journals of Asbury, Coke, Garrettson, Abbott, and in other early Methodist publications. These memorable historical families, though associated with the highest social circles of their times, counted not their wealth nor their lives

dear unto them, choosing rather to suffer persecution with the people of God.

Thomas White, "Chief Judge of the Common Pleas," had been an unexceptionable member of the English Church before he met with the Methodists. His wife, Mary White, was a lady of special excellence; devoted, charitable, strict in the religious education of her family, not omitting her numerous colored servants, to whom she carefully taught the Holy Scriptures. Hearing the Methodists preach, her devout heart recognized them as congenial Christians, and she reported them so favorably to her husband that he was induced to accompany her and their children to one of their appointments. The preachers were invited to his mansion, and it remained a "preaching place" till the erection of White's Chapel. His wife not only led him to the Methodist communion, but became his best guide to heaven. She was a woman of rare talents, of remarkable but modest courage, and of fervent zeal. When he was seized by the military patrol she clung to him, defending him, and declaring to the ruffians, who brandished their swords over her, that she feared them not, until, overpowered by their numbers, he was borne away. She soon followed them, found out the place of his confinement, and rested not till she effected his restoration to his family. "On another sorrowful occasion," says a Methodist

annalist, "when a drafted company of soldiers came by her house and halted, while the men were weeping on account of leaving their parents, wives, and sisters, and while wives and sisters were clinging to their husbands and brothers, telling by their gushing tears how deeply they felt as they were parting with them, fearing they should see them no more, Mrs. White kneeled down on the ground before them and offered up fervent prayers, mingling her tears with theirs for their temporal and eternal salvation; and when the Methodists were met for worship, if there were none present more suitable, she took up the cross, led the religious exercises, and met the class; and she would have gone further and preached if Asbury had encouraged her. That child of nature and of grace, Benjamin Abbott, was at Mr. White's in October, 1782; when about to start for Quarterly Meeting at Barratt's Chapel, he says, 'Mrs. White came to me as I sat on my horse, and took hold of my hand, exhorting me for some time. I felt very happy under her wholesome admonitions.' Thomas Ware says, 'She was a mother in Israel in very deed.' When her husband informed her that his end was nigh, she spent the last night in supplications for him, and with him exulted in victory as he entered into the joy of his Lord. She, like her husband, professed and exemplified the grace of perfect love. They were lovely in their

lives, and in death were not long divided; she soon followed him to the 'better country.' Near by the old homestead the bricks that arched their graves, now sunk in the earth, mark the spot where their heaven-watched dust reposes, till they shall again appear in the bloom and beauty of immortality." *

Richard Bassett, of Dover, Delaware, was, as we have seen, a man of pre-eminence in the civil and social life of these times. He first met Asbury in his concealment at Judge White's residence. On a professional journey to Maryland, he called there to spend a night with his friend, the Judge. As a door in the

* Lednum, p. 259. Lednum visited the place in 1848. He found there an old negress who had been a servant of Judge White, who was then in her eighty-eighth year. "Soon the little African woman, led by a girl—for she was almost blind—came. She could point to the spot where the house stood where the preachers were secreted, though the house, as well as the wood that stood between it and the dwelling-house, has long since disappeared. She distinctly remembered all the old preachers that visited her old master, and could describe them. The old hip-roofed two-story house in which Judge White lived is still standing, and has much of the original material in it after the lapse of a hundred years. The floors on which the beds were spread, to accommodate the Methodists attending Quarterly Meetings and the preachers when assembled for Conference, on which they read their Bibles on their knees and offered up their fervent prayers, are still there. While sitting in this house, which sheltered the first race of Methodist preachers, I felt as if it were relatively holy, having been sanctified by the presence and prayers of Asbury, Shadford, Watters, Garrettson, Pedicord, Coke, Whatcoat, and many others. When I lay down on the bed to pass the night, I was less inclined to sleep than to call up the scenes that had transpired seventy years before. My soul was full of other times!"

house was opened he observed Asbury, with some other preachers, apparently retired in quiet conversation, and inquired of Mrs. White who "they were, dressed in sable garments and keeping themselves aside?" "They are some of the best men in the world; they are Methodist preachers," replied the hostess. He was evidently disturbed by this intelligence, and observed, "Then I cannot stay here to-night." "You must stay; they cannot hurt you," rejoined the lady. Supper being ready, they all sat down at the table. Asbury had considerable conversation with Bassett, "by which he was convinced that Methodist preachers were not so ignorant or unsociable as to make them outcasts from civil society. On taking leave, he invited Asbury, more from custom than desire, to call on him in case he visited Dover. When Bassett returned home and informed his wife that he had been in company with Methodist preachers, and had invited one of them to his house, she was greatly troubled; but was quieted when he told her, 'It is not likely that he will come.'" But some time later, Bassett, while looking out of his window, saw the itinerant approaching. That evening Asbury charmed by his conversation a large circle at the tea-table, till late into the night; and for nearly twoscore years Richard Bassett was his unfailing friend.

Subsequently Asbury, on visiting the family, de-

scribes Bassett as "a very conversant and affectionate man, who, from his own acknowledgments, appears to be sick of sin. His wife is under great distress; she prays much." It was not long before she was rejoicing in the consolation of the Gospel, and her husband followed in her steps. They became zealous and exemplary Methodists. He "lived a bright example of holiness, and left the world praising God." He often preached, and was the chief founder of "Wesley Chapel," in Dover. They had three residences, one in Dover, one in Wilmington, and another at Bohemia Manor, a famous locality in the early Methodist annals, where Ann Bassett delighted to minister to the way-worn itinerants. All of them were favorite homes of the ministry, and scenes of early Quarterly Conferences and other extraordinary meetings. Bohemia Manor consisted of eighteen thousand acres on the Bohemia and Elk rivers. The family owned six thousand of the best of these acres. They had a famous "old log Bethesda Chapel" on the Manor, in which the greatest heroes of primitive Methodism sounded their trumpets. The mansion there was as noted a resort of Methodist preachers as Perry Hall on the western shore of Maryland; "it was seldom without some one of them, and often had a number of them together." The generous hostess received one of them, broken down with age and labor, as superintendent of the

household. The neighboring groves sometimes resounded with the melodies of Methodist camp-meetings. The Manor became "famous for Methodism; in almost every family Methodists were found. Mrs. Bassett did not live many years; but while she lived she was a bright example of holiness, and left the world praising God. Mr. Bassett's second wife, it appears, was a Garnet, a Talbot county lady, and an ardent Christian. Mr. Bassett raised but one child. She was a Methodist. The Hon. James Bayard, an eminent lawyer and statesman, who was associated with Messrs. Gallatin, Russell, Adams, and Clay in negotiating the treaty of Ghent in 1814, married her. The influence of the Bassett family was most salutary for Methodism."

Lednum records that "Methodism having surrounded Dorchester, in Maryland, the Lord prepared the way in 1779 for its introduction into this county. A Miss Ennalls, niece of Judge Ennalls, and sister to Henry Ennalls, had been visiting her friends, and had fallen in with the Methodists, (perhaps in Dover, Delaware, where Richard Bassett, her brother-in-law, lived,) by whom she was convinced that she was in a lost state. Afterward she was filled with peace, joy, and love. When she returned home, her relations thought her beside herself, as they knew nothing of any such experience. She, however, per-

severed, and was instrumental in the conversion of her sister, MARY ENNALLS, and some others. This last-named sister went down the county to visit Henry Airey, Esq., who was related to her. As Mr. Airey was an entire stranger to experimental religion, which Mary was enforcing, and fearing that his wife, who began to show some symptoms of seriousness, would lose her reason, he undertook to convince his visitor that the Methodists were wrong, and for this purpose he took up a book written by an old Puritan, and began to read it to Mary; but he had not spent many minutes in reading before he began to weep under conviction. He read till he thought he must go among the Methodists, and compare his book with their books of religion. In order to compare notes he went to Judge White's, and found that his book and theirs agreed in substance. If Methodism was a disease, he was by this time deeply infected with it. After passing through the darkness and distress of penitential grief, the Lord removed the burden of his guilt, and gave him peace; and then he was urgent in his requests to Mr. Asbury to have Methodist preaching in his county. On the 10th of February, 1780, Mr. Garrettson rose early in the morning and called upon God, and his soul was greatly strengthened; and, being commended to God in prayer by Asbury for this mission, he set out from Mr. White's for Mr. Airey's.

The family, white and black, assembled for worship. The divine presence was there; and Mrs. Airey was so filled that she sank to the floor rejoicing aloud; and the work of grace commenced among the blacks. For three days Mr. Garrettson labored at Mr. Airey's, and the congregations were deeply affected. The work of salvation was begun. 'One man,' said Mr. Garrettson, 'was deeply affected by seeing us.' As soon as the Lord began to work the enemies began their rage, by giving a wicked man permission to take his life, promising to protect him against the penalty of the law. Mr. Garrettson returned to Mr. Airey's, and this wicked device failed. On Saturday, the 25th, he seemed to have a presentiment, in his very solemn feeling, of something remarkable at hand. With his friend, Mr. Airey, he had been preaching to a weeping congregation; and, as they were returning home in the evening, a company of men surrounded them, and called Mr. Garrettson their prisoner, beating his horse and using much profane language. After night they took him to a magistrate, who ordered him to jail. In the darkness his friend Airey and several of his foes started for the prison. They had not gone a mile before there was an awful flash of lightning, and in a minute his foes fled and left him and Mr. Airey. About midnight Mr. Garrettson returned with his friend, and found the family waiting; they were received

joyfully, and had a happy family meeting. The next day being Sunday, he undertook to fill his appointment at Mr. Airey's. Just as he was beginning his meeting his persecutors came up in a body. Their head man, presenting a pistol, laid hold of him. He was pulled into a room; but, as soon as he could, he went out into the midst of them and began to exhort. Soon the most of them were in tears; and the female part of the congregation were much alarmed. His horse was made ready, and accompanied by his friend Mr. Airey, and his enemies, they started for Cambridge. When he arrived, he and Mr. Airey occupied a room in a tavern from noon till night. The people of Cambridge came to the hotel to drink and rejoice over their prisoner, and their hatred to Mr. Airey was nearly as great, for bringing the Methodists into the county. Before this he stood high as a citizen."

He was also a magistrate, and a Revolutionary soldier. "One of the bullies made an attempt to come into the room to abuse them, and aimed a blow at Mr. Airey, that might have been fatal if he had received its full force. This sudden attack was too much for the soldier, who feeling an 'old man's bone in him,' as John Nelson said, brought his persecutor to the floor by a blow on his temple, which raised a bar-room laugh, and caused them to behave a little better. Mr. Garrettson reproved

his friend with tears for this act, which seemed to be unpremeditated on his part, and for which Mr. Airey could not feel that he had done wrong. After they had kept Mr. Garrettson in the tavern for a show during the afternoon of the Lord's day, toward night they lodged him in prison, and took away the key, that his friends might not minister to him. He had a dirty floor for his bed, his saddle-bag for a pillow, and a cold east wind blowing upon him. But being imprisoned for the same cause that Paul and Silas were, he found similar comfort in his confinement. Mr. and Mrs. Airey did all in their power to make him comfortable, and many acquaintances and strangers came far and near to visit him. After about two weeks' confinement in the jail at Cambridge, he was set at liberty by the governor and council of Maryland; his good friend, Mr. Airey, going to Annapolis to obtain his release. His enemies, on hearing of his discharge, were greatly enraged. On this first visit to Dorset he spent a little over a month; about half of it in preaching, and half of it in prison." And thus had Methodism been transplanted from the home of the Bassetts, through the agency of a woman, into Dorchester county. In no place was there a stouter opposition manifested at its introduction, and in no place was its success greater; many of its bitterest enemies submitted to it. "After

about two years' labor and suffering on the part of the preachers, they reported almost eight hundred Methodists in the county. Methodism has long been honored there; and "there are but few professors of religion that belong to any other than the Methodist Episcopal Church."

The two Miss Ennalls, we have already seen, were the first Methodists in Dorchester. Henry Airey, who lived southeast of Cambridge, was the first man; at his house the first Society was formed, and he was its class-leader; at his house the first quarterly meeting in the county was held.

Perry Hall is still more historical in the Church, if possible, than the White Mansion, as a home of Asbury and his itinerant associates; and its lady, PRUDENCE GOUGH, gave it primarily its fame for Methodist hospitality, and maintained its enviable reputation to the last. No preachers' home is more frequently mentioned in our early literature. In the week before the memorable "Christmas Conference" of 1784 it sheltered Asbury, Coke, Whatcoat, Vasey, Black of Nova Scotia, and other eminent men, who prepared there the business of the conference. The constitutional organization of American Methodism may be said to have been constructed under its roof.

Asbury's usefulness in the Baltimore Circuit in 1775 had permanently important results. He gath-

ered into the young societies not a few of those influential families whose opulence and social position gave material strength to Methodism through much of its early history in that city, while their exemplary devotion helped to maintain its primitive purity and power. Henry Dorsey Gough and his family were distinguished examples. Gough possessed a fortune in lands and money amounting to more than three hundred thousand dollars. He had married a daughter of Governor Ridgeley. His country residence—Perry Hall, about twelve miles from the city—was "one of the most spacious and elegant in America at that time." But he was an unhappy man in the midst of his luxury. His wife had been deeply impressed by the Methodist preaching, but he forbade her to hear it again. While he was reveling with wine and gay companions one evening, it was proposed that they should divert themselves by going together to a Methodist assembly. Asbury was the preacher, and no godless diversion could be found in his presence. "What nonsense," exclaimed one of the convivialists, as they returned, "what nonsense have we heard to-night!" "No," replied Gough, startling them with sudden surprise; "no, what we have heard is the truth, the truth as it is in Jesus." "I will never hinder you again from hearing the Methodists," he said as he entered his house and met his wife. The impression of the sermon

was so profound that he could no longer enjoy his accustomed pleasures. He became deeply serious, and, at last, melancholy, "and was near destroying himself" under the awakened sense of his misspent life; but God mercifully preserved him. Riding to one of his plantations, he heard the voice of prayer and praise in a cabin, and, listening, discovered that a negro from a neighboring estate was leading the devotions of his own slaves, and offering fervent thanksgivings for the blessings of their depressed lot. His heart was touched, and with emotion he exclaimed, "Alas, O Lord! I have my thousands and tens of thousands, and yet, ungrateful wretch that I am, I never thanked thee, as this poor slave does, who has scarcely clothes to put on, or food to satisfy his hunger." The luxurious master was taught a lesson, on the nature of true contentment and happiness, which he could never forget. His work-worn servants in their lowly cabins knew a blessedness which he had never found in his sumptuous mansion. He returned home, pondering the mystery, with a distressed and contrite heart. He retired from his table, which was surrounded by a large company of his friends, and threw himself upon his knees in a chamber. While there, imploring the mercy of God, he received conscious pardon and peace. In a transport of joy he went to his company, exclaiming, "I have found the Methodists'

blessing, I have found the Methodists' God!" Both he and his wife now became members of the Methodist Society, and Perry Hall was henceforth the chief asylum of the itinerants in the Middle States, and a "preaching place." Rankin visited it the next year, and says: "I spent a most agreeable evening with them. A numerous family of servants were called in for exhortation and prayer, so that, with them and the rest of the house, we had a little congregation. The Lord was in the midst, and we praised him with joyful lips. The simplicity of spirit discovered by Mr. and Mrs. Gough was truly pleasing. At every opportunity he was declaring what the Lord had done for his soul; still wondering at the matchless love of Jesus, who had plucked him as a brand from the burning."

The wealthy converts erected a chapel contiguous to Perry Hall; the first American Methodist church that had a bell, and it rang every morning and evening, summoning their numerous household and slaves to family worship. They made a congregation; for the establishment comprised a hundred persons. The circuit preachers supplied it twice a month, and local preachers every Sunday. After some years of steadfast piety this liberal man yielded to the strong temptations of his social position, and fell away from his humbler brethren. But his excellent wife maintained her integrity, and her fidelity

was rewarded by his restoration. Under the labors of Asbury, his "spiritual father," he was reclaimed in 1800, and applied for readmission to the Church in the Light-street Chapel, Baltimore. When the pastor put the question of his reception to vote, the whole assembly rose, and with tears and prayers welcomed him again. His zeal was renewed, his devotion steadfast, and the family built another chapel for the Methodists in a poor neighborhood. Their charities were large, and they were ever ready to minister, with both their means and Christian sympathies, to the afflicted within or without the pale of their Church. After his reclamation he exclaimed, "O if my wife had ever given way to the world I should have been lost; but her uniformly good life inspired me with the hope that I should one day be restored to the favor of God." He preached at times, and, during the agitations of the Revolution, was brought before the magistrates for his public labors. He died in 1808, while the General Conference of his Church was in session in Baltimore. Asbury, who had twice led him to the cross, was present to comfort him in his final trial, and says: "In his last hours, which were painfully afflictive, he was much given up to God. When the corpse was removed, to be taken into the country for interment, many of the members of the General Conference walked in procession after it to the end

of the town." The bishop describes him as "a man much respected and beloved; as a husband, a father, and a master, well worthy of imitation; his charities were as numerous as proper objects to a Christian were likely to make them; and the souls and bodies of the poor were administered to in the manner of a Christian who remembered the precepts and followed the example of his divine Master."

"Perry Hall," says the Methodist chronicler, "was the resort of much company, among whom the skeptic and the Romanist were sometimes found. Members of the Baltimore bar, the *elite* of Maryland, were there. But it mattered not who were there; when the bell rang for family devotion they were seen in the chapel, and if there was no male person present who could lead the devotions, Mrs. Gough read a chapter in the Bible, gave out a hymn, which was often raised and sung by the colored servants, after which she would engage in prayer. Take her altogether, few such have been found on earth."* Asbury called her a "true daughter" to himself, and Coke, "a precious woman of fine sense." "Her only sister became a Methodist about the same time that she did; they continued faithful to a good old age, when they were called to take a higher seat. Most of her relations followed her example of piety. Many of them were Methodists cast in the old die.

* Lednum, chap. 23.

Methodism still continues in this distinguished family." Its only daughter became, under her parental training, a devoted Methodist. Her marriage into the Carroll family, memorable in our Revolutionary history, did not impair, but extended her religious influence.

This devout and liberal family has long been historical in our Church annals. The early books of Methodism make frequent reference to it, and its services to the denomination. Asbury's Journals have rendered its name familiar. A veteran itinerant, Rev. Henry Smith, of "Pilgrim's Rest," who lingered till he became the oldest living Methodist preacher, has drawn the picture of the Christian hospitalities of Perry Hall, remarking: "We were received in their usual warm and affectionate way, and I was for the first time introduced to that dear household. I soon found that religion in its native simplicity dwelt in some great houses, and that some of the rich had been cast in the Gospel mould, and came out in the image and likeness of their Lord. Perry Hall was the largest dwelling-house I had ever seen, and all its arrangements, within and without, were tasteful and elegant, yet simplicity and utility seemed to be stamped upon the whole. The garden, orchards, and everything else, were delightful indeed, and looked to me like an earthly paradise. But, what pleased me better than anything else, I found

a neat chapel attached to the house, with a small cupola and bell, that could be heard all over the farm. In this chapel morning and evening prayers were offered to God. The bell rang about half an hour before prayer, when the manager and servants from the farm-house, and servants' quarters, and garden, together with the inhabitants of the great mansion, repaired to the chapel. So large and well-regulated a family I never saw before. All seemed to know their place and duty. For some reasons we had prayers in the parlor that night, and it was a solemn time. When we rose from our knees all took their seats and were silent. I was led to talk a little of the excellence of religion, and the beauty of holiness. All were attentive, and some wept; I believe Mr. Gough was in tears. After I was done he came to me, and took my hand in both his, and expressed himself pleased; and from that hour I felt myself at home at Perry Hall."

When the itinerant chiefs met there in 1784 to prepare for the organization of the Church, Coke described Perry Hall as "the most elegant house in this state." "Here," he adds, "I have a noble room to myself, where Mr. Asbury and I may, in the course of a week, mature everything for the conference." Black alludes to it as "the most spacious and elegant building" he had seen in America. "It is," he says, "about fifteen miles from Baltimore;

Mr. Gough, its owner, is a Methodist, and supposed to be worth one hundred thousand pounds. He is not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. He has built a neat stone meeting-house, entertains the circuit preachers, and at times preaches himself; and thus he continued to do during the late war, at the risk of his immense estate."

Asbury's allusions to Perry Hall are brief but abundant. He seems hardly ever to have passed through Baltimore without turning aside to this favorite retreat. His devoted hosts were among his dearest friends, and their absence at any time was felt by him as a painful bereavement. In 1800 he writes: "We came with difficulties to Perry Hall; but the greatest trouble of all was that the elders of the house were not at home. The walls, the rooms no longer vocal, all to me appeared hung in sackcloth. I see not the pleasant countenances, nor hear the cheerful voices of Mr. and Mrs. Gough! She is in ill health, and writes, 'I have left home, perhaps never to return.' This intelligence made me melancholy. Mrs. Gough hath been my faithful daughter."

Their only child, Sophia, "was raised," says Lednum, "after the most religious order. It was a rule of Mrs. Gough not to allow her daughter to go into any company where she could not go with her, nor to join in any amusements that the pious mother

could not, with a good conscience, join in. What was very remarkable, this well raised young lady was converted at her piano while singing, 'Come, thou Fount of every blessing.' She bore the joyful news to her parents. The mother wept for joy, and the father shouted aloud.* This young lady was married to James Carroll, Esq., a gentleman of many excellences, as well as of much wealth. Methodism still remains in this distinguished family. The Rev. Thomas B. Sargent of the Baltimore Conference was married to the great-granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. Gough. She, and her mother and aunt, as well as her grandmother and great-grandmother, are ranked among true-hearted Methodists."

The venerable Henry Smith says of Prudence Gough: "I saw her a few days before her death. She was not in triumph, yet humbly and confidently waiting till her change came. Betsey Cassell, a preacher's widow, her faithful companion, was with her to the last. Some people marveled that she did not leave the world shouting; but it never staggered me in the least, for she was not of that cast of mind.

* There is lying on the desk of the author, as he writes, a manuscript letter from Mr. Gough to Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, written apparently about the time of the conversion of his child, in which he says, "I am, through unbounded mercy, filled with the love of God, and Sophy, my dear Sophy, whom you call the child of my affection, has a living faith in Christ; in short, Perry Hall is like a little heaven below."

Those who are created anew in Christ Jesus, and live right, are sure to die safe, no matter whether their sun sets fair or under a cloud. She was bold and zealous in the cause of God, yet humble and unassuming. I frequently heard her say, 'I have much severity in my nature.' That might have been so, but it was seasoned by grace. She seemed to have little patience with professors of religion who appeared to be ashamed of their religion before the people of the world. She never prayed in public till after Mr. Gough's death. But when she could get no one to pray with her large family, she took up the cross, read a chapter, and gave out a hymn, which was sung, (for she could not sing herself,) and prayed, and so led the worship of God in her family, no matter who was present. She was a woman of firmness, uncommon fortitude, and moral courage. Taking Mrs. Gough for all and all, she certainly was a Christian of a high grade. Always plain in dress; plain, yet dignified, in her manners; a decided Methodist, but a lover of good people of every denomination, she set an example worthy of imitation. To me she was like a mother for many years, and I think myself honored to be permitted to recall and record her example." Dr. Bond, late editor of the Christian Advocate, who knew her well, says: "Mrs. Gough survived her husband for several years, and still resided at Perry Hall during the summer

seasons. During the whole of her widowhood she still held the family devotions in the chapel. O she was an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile! All, all she had, her fortune, 'her soul and body's powers,' were consecrated to the service of God."

Asbury records the names of many other "elect ladies" who were his intimate associates in the early struggles of Methodism in and about Baltimore, but though their names may well be forever preserved in his journal, and sanctified in the memory of the Church by his occasional and affectionate allusions, time has obscured them with an oblivion through which they can be seen only as the stars shine through the darkness of night, dim and distant. Our chroniclers have not failed, however, to cite them. "There was," says Lednum, "a MRS. MOORE, who had a short but brilliant career among the Methodists. Some two weeks before her death she was so filled with the pure and perfect love of God, that henceforth her words were clothed with divine power, and melted the hearts of all that visited her. She was like a living flame, longing to be dissolved and be with Christ. Just before she expired she said, 'I am just now going; I cannot stay; farewell! farewell! farewell!' and without a sigh or groan, expired. Her death was improved by a discourse from George Shadford. Samuel Owings

was a spiritual son of Mr. Asbury, and a leading man in the beginning. His first wife had been a member of the German Reformed Church, where she earnestly sought the comfort of religion until she obtained it. On telling her minister of her enjoyments, he thought her beside herself; but when she heard the Methodists she at once found out that her experience was identical with theirs. She united with them, and was one of the early female class-leaders in Baltimore. Mrs. TRIPLETT was the second person who opened her house for preaching. As Bishop Asbury performed the funeral solemnities of this 'dear old friend' of his in 1791 in Baltimore, we must conclude that she left the German Reformed Church, (though we have not seen it explicitly declared,) and was one of the early and zealous advocates of Methodism. RACHEL HULINGS appears to have been one of the most useful females in Baltimore at that early day. After Asbury had spent his first Sabbath in the town, we learn from his journal that she, in company with Mrs. Rogers and the Widow White, accompanied him to N. Perrigau's, where he preached to a large number of people. Thence to William Lynch's, to whom he was introduced by Mrs. Hulings. In a subsequent part of his journal we find her, in company with Mr. Asbury, visiting the friends at New Mills, in New Jersey. It appears that she traveled about extens-

ively, aiding the good work. Among Mr. Asbury's early and valued friends in Baltimore was a Mrs. CHAMIER. This friend and supporter of Methodism went to Abraham's bosom in 1785. Bishop Asbury officiated at her interment, preaching to a thousand persons. Mrs. MARTHA F. ALLISON joined the Methodists in 1770; but as it seems there was no society in Baltimore so early, we suppose she was a member at first somewhere else. She was, however, for several years a class-leader among them in Baltimore. In 1797 Bishop Asbury preached her funeral sermon. She was a woman of *good sense*, and equally *good piety*."

ELEANOR DORSEY, wife of Judge Dorsey, was a heroine of the Church of those early times, and one of the friends of Asbury, her house being his home, and the shelter of many other itinerants. The family moved as early as 1801 to Lyons, N. Y., where she died, at the age of seventy years, leaving a fragrant memory in the Church. "Her Christian life," says one who well knew her,* "had been such that her hope grew brighter under great trials and afflictions. She possessed a strong mind, well stored with useful knowledge, and a faculty to communicate her knowledge to others. She had made herself acquainted with the peculiarities of Methodism, and one would suppose by conversing with her that she

* Rev. Thomas Carlton, D.D., of the Methodist Book Concern.

had a perfect history of the Church to which she belonged. While she lived in Maryland she formed an acquaintance with several of the first Methodist ministers. Asbury was a warm friend to the family. Her house was a home for the preachers from the time she became a member of the Church; and when a preacher called on her, he was favored with a warm reception, and hailed with a smile. The Genesee Annual Conference held its sessions no less than three times at her house, and she has been known to entertain thirty preachers during its session. The first conference held in Western New York was in her dwelling, in the year 1810. She taught her children, while they were in early life, the principles of our holy religion, and had the pleasure of seeing them all happily converted to God. When informed by her physician that she could survive but a short time, such was her uncommon strength of mind and confidence in the God of all grace, that, without the least embarrassment or excitement, she arranged all her temporal affairs, made choice of the minister to preach her funeral sermon, and selected for a text Rev. xiv, 13. She then addressed herself to all who were present in a plain but friendly and affectionate manner, and closed her remarks by saying: 'This is the brightest, the happiest day I ever saw: I thank the Lord, now I know that the religion I have professed for so many

years is no fiction. No, bless the Lord, it makes me happy in this trying hour. My work is done, my sky is clear. Glory to God! Jesus died for me!'"

A Methodist preacher, Rev. Thomas Smith, relates a striking example of the courageous manner in which these early Methodist women, as well as men, pressed forward their cause. He says: "My next appointment was at Lyons, N. Y., where I preached in the evening. Here we had a respectable society, and a small meeting-house. But the people of Lyons were generally wicked. They took pleasure in unrighteousness, in deriding the ways of God, and in persecuting the humble followers of Jesus Christ. They interrupted and insulted us in our religious worship, and on this evening they were worse than usual. I paused until I got their attention, and then remarked that I should not wonder if Lyons should be visited on the morrow in a way that it never had been before, and perhaps never would be again to the end of time. We then had quietness till the close of the meeting. When the congregation was dismissed, and I had come out of the house, the people gathered round me, and with one voice cried out, 'For God's sake, tell us what is to happen here to-morrow?' I replied, 'Let to-morrow speak for itself.' I went home with Brother D. Dorsey, a short distance from the town. The next day after breakfast I said to Sister Dorsey, 'I wish you to go

with me into Lyons this morning, as there are some families to which I cannot get access without you. She, being acquainted with the place, readily consented. At nine o'clock A. M. we entered the town. Scores from the country were already there, and the place was in commotion. We went to the house of Mr. A., where we were politely received. I knew if we could storm THAT castle the day was ours. After conversing some time, I remarked that Mrs. Dorsey and myself were on a visit to Lyons, and if it were agreeable we would pray before we parted. 'By all means, by all means,' was the reply. Before prayer was over there were scores of people at the door, and by that time the order of the day began to be understood; and they that feared God were at their posts, coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. We then went in large procession from house to house, entering every door in order, and praying for the souls of the families. When we came near the tavern, where we had been so derided, it was inquired, 'Will they admit us?' But the doors and windows being open we entered, and was there ever such a shout while storming Lucifer's castle? At four o'clock in the afternoon we came to a halt to see what was done, and forming a circle on the green, the new converts were invited within the circle, when *thirty-two* came in who had that day found the pearl of great price, Christ in them

the hope of glory. These thirty-two, and eight more, were added to the Church of God on that afternoon. Thanks be to God, this was another good day's work in the Lord's vineyard. These meetings produced a pleasing change in Lyons, and Methodism gained a footing in that place it never had before. To God be all the glory." *

Asbury found one of his best female friends and wayside homes, where he most needed and most prized them, among the rugged mountains of the Holston country, when, in the last century, he used to climb those heights, sometimes guarded by convoys of armed men to protect him from the Indians, for the Methodist pioneer itinerants kept pace with the movement of early emigration. The most romantic passages of his journals are his brief records of his adventures among the Alleghanies, and often at the close of weary days does he write in log-cabins that so many miles yet remain before he can reach "General Russell's," his longed-for resting-place. The first Methodist conference beyond the Alleghanies is usually supposed to have been held at Uniontown, Pa., on the 22d of July, 1788; but a session was held in the Holston country as early as the second week of the previous May. Rev. Thomas Ware, who was present, gives some

* Smith's Memoirs.

information of the memorable occasion, including interesting references to the RUSSELL family. "As the road by which Bishop Asbury was to come was," he says, "infested with hostile savages, so that it could not be traveled except by considerable companies, he was detained for a week after the time appointed to commence the session. But we were not idle; and the Lord gave us many souls in the place where we were assembled, among whom were General Russell and lady, the latter a sister of the illustrious Patrick Henry. I mention these particularly, because they were the first-fruits of our labors at this Conference. On the Sabbath we had a crowded audience, and Tunnell preached an excellent sermon, which produced great effect. His discourse was followed by a number of powerful exhortations. When the meeting closed, Mrs. Russell came to me and said, 'I thought I was a Christian; but, sir, I am not a Christian—I am the veriest sinner upon earth. I want you and Mr. Mastin to come with Mr. Tunnell to our house and pray for us, and tell us what we must do to be saved." So we went, and spent much of the afternoon in prayer, especially for Mrs. Russell. But she did not obtain comfort. Being much exhausted, the preachers retired to a pleasant grove, near at hand, to spend a short time. On returning to the house we found Mrs. Russell praising the Lord, and the General walking the floor and

weeping bitterly. He had been reading to her one of Fletcher's works. At length he sat down quite exhausted. This scene was in a high degree interesting to us. To see the old soldier and statesman, the proud opposer of godliness, trembling, and earnestly inquiring what he must do to be saved, was an affecting sight. But the work ended not here. The conversion of Mrs. Russell, whose zeal, good sense, and amiableness of character were proverbial, together with the penitential grief so conspicuous in the General, made a deep impression on the minds of many, and numbers were brought in before the Conference closed. The General rested not until he knew his adoption; and he continued a faithful and an official member of the Church, constantly adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour unto the end of his life." No name is recorded, in the biographies of the pioneer itinerants among these mountains, with more grateful affection than that of General Russell. His house was long their refuge, and Asbury always entered it with delight.

Asbury speaks of them, in 1788, as "a most kind family in deed and truth." In 1792 he writes: "I came to Sister Russell's; I am very solemn. I feel the want of the dear man who, I trust, is now in Abraham's bosom, and hope ere long to see him there. He was a general officer in the continental army, where he underwent great fatigue: he was

powerfully brought to God, and for a few years past was a living flame, and a blessing to his neighborhood. He went in the dead of winter on a visit to his friends, was seized with an influenza, and ended his life from home: O that the Gospel may continue in this house! I preached on Heb. xii, 1–4, and there followed several exhortations. We then administered the sacrament, and there was weeping and shouting among the people: our exercises lasted about five hours."

Such scenes often occurred there, for Mrs. Russell kept her mansion always open, not only for the shelter of the wayworn itinerants, but as a sanctuary for the mountaineer settlers who flocked thither from miles around to hear the Gospel. Her home was a light-house shining afar among the Alleghanies.

CHAPTER III.

LATER WOMEN OF AMERICAN METHODISM.

Review — Catharine Livingston, Mrs. Garrettson — The Connecting Link between the early and late Women of Methodist History — The Garrettson Homestead — Its Scenery — Freeborn Garrettson — Catharine Garrettson's Social Position — Sketch of her Life — President Olin's Estimate of her Character — The "House Warming" — "Traveler's Rest" — Asbury resting there — Its Relics — Asbury among the Livingstons — Death of Madame Livingston — Catharine Suckley — Her Character and Death — Relics of Asbury — Ann Wilkins, a type of Female Missionary Character — Her Life — Her Self-sacrifice — Her Blessed Death — Eliza Garrett, a Model of Female Liberality — The Garrett Biblical Institute.

In accordance with the immediate (though not the ultimate) design of this volume, as a contribution to the centenary commemoration of the *founding* of Methodism, the characters thus far sketched have been selected from the Methodist women of the last century—the associates, correspondents, or colaborers of Wesley, Whitefield, and Asbury, representing respectively the threefold form of the "great movement," Wesleyan, Calvinistic, and American. It is desirable we should come nearer our own age as we draw toward the close of the record, not that we have not intimate sympathy and ties with those great and stirring times, for what is most precious in the Church

to us is our heritage from them; not that their examples present not most relevant lessons to the modern women of Methodism, for what is more instructive than character, and where can we find better models of character than these? And their modes of activity and usefulness are as appropriate in our day as they were in theirs, and perhaps need special enforcement at this period of our history by their reproduction as examples. But it is expedient that the interval between their period and ours should be somewhat bridged over, and that some names, appealing more directly to our modern life and sympathies, should close the record.

For such a design we cannot better introduce our last chapter than with the name of a lady whose prolonged life has connected both periods; who, moving in the highest circles of our national society, has illustrated also the best virtues of our denominational life; whose maiden name is one of the most conspicuous in the history of the Republic, while her matron name is one of the most historic in the Church; Catharine Livingston, later CATHARINE GARRETTSON, one of the best regarded friends of Asbury, and the wife of a man who was a chief founder of Methodism from Nova Scotia to North Carolina.

The Garrettson Homestead at Rhinebeck, New York, is an historic edifice of the Church. Many an old Methodist, as he journeys near it, still resorts

thither as on a devout pilgrimage. To its Methodistic associations are superadded the charms of landscape prospects not often surpassed even on the Hudson. The mansion is situated some three miles from the village, on high land overlooking the river, and commanding an extended view of its banks to the south. One can sit at the windows of its parlor or library, or on rustic seats, under aged trees, that dot the lawn-like sward, which extends from the house down to the shore, and notice the steamers and small sail that glide up and down the stream, the shadows of the clouds as they move over the waters, and the landscapes of the opposite bank, with the lofty background of the distant Catskill. The river curves gracefully in the midst of the fine picture, and is the chief feature in this most beautiful scenery. Few sights can be more lovely and tranquilizing than the view at the close of the day, when the oblique and subdued rays of the sun suffuse the atmosphere with their mellow light, and gild the hill-tops and the clouds. The spectator can comprehend how the good old saint, who pitched here the tent of his last sojourn on earth, used to feel when, as is reported, he was wont to seat himself in his chair beneath the trees, and praise God audibly as he gazed on the enchanting prospect, reminding himself meanwhile of "those high and flowery plains," where

"Our spirits ne'er shall tire,
But in perpetual, joyful strains,
Redeeming love admire."

Freeborn Garrettson is one of the most distin guished personages in our denominational annals. He was the first American Methodist preacher that proclaimed the doctrine of free, full, and immediate salvation in New England, and also in the British provinces. He was a native of the Middle States; a man naturally benign, heroically zealous, always rejoicing in God; "all meekness and love, and yet all activity," said Coke; a man of property, who had emancipated his slaves for Christ's sake; had suffered indescribable privations and fatigues as his ambassador; had been mobbed and imprisoned; had escaped attempts on his life, made with firearms and with poison; a man who had every domestic attraction to allure him from his work, and every susceptibility of the heart to feel such attractions, and yet declared, through a long and by a laborious career, that "none of these things moved him, neither counted he his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God."

His ministerial excursions along the Hudson, as well as his social position, brought him into the society of the Livingstons, then predominant in

their political influence. Among them was a daughter of old Judge Livingston, and sister of the well-known Chancellor—a lady of rare accomplishments, a correspondent of Lady Washington, Mrs. General Warren, and other distinguished women of that period of pre-eminent women in America. She had enjoyed the acquaintance of Washington himself, and of many of the great personages of the times.* She was a woman of remarkably vigorous faculties, a genuine example, in fine, of the characteristic intellect and nobleness of her remarkable family. Her clear and sound judgment, and healthful moral feelings, led her, even in the gay sphere of her early life, to frequent and deep religious reflections. The good providence of God guided her into the path of life by one of those humble instrumentalities which his Spirit so often chooses for the accomplishment of his purposes. She had a devoted servant-maid, who had joined the infant Methodist society in New York, and whose conversation revealed to her mistress those scriptural doctrines of experi-

* Mrs. Garrettson scrupulously shunned the usual dissipating gayeties of fashionable society after her conversion; but it is said that even late in her very prolonged life she could hardly help showing some chagrin when mentioning the fact that she had declined an invitation from Washington to dance with him at a party. Her reason, at the time, was not one of conscience; she had engaged herself to another partner. If the reader thinks the supposed regret a weakness, it will at least be allowed to have been, in such a case, among the most pardonable of weaknesses.

mental religion which alone could meet the demands of her strong but anxious mind. Through the same providential means she also obtained Wesley's Sermons; these became her assiduous study, her companion to the Bible, and led her into those deep things of godliness by which her eminently holy life was always afterward distinguished. She was enabled, one day, while receiving the holy communion at the altar, to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ unto salvation. The doctrine of faith, as taught in the Scriptures and expounded by Wesley and his followers, was thenceforth the support and delight of her soul; and few among the women of Methodism have afforded, through so protracted a life, so conclusive a demonstration of that doctrine. Her social position presented temptations full of danger to the state of mind to which she had attained, but a single trial soon taught her that to follow Christ was to "come out from the world" in such manner as to share with it no longer even the "appearance of evil." While visiting, for several days, a family in her own elevated walks of life, a ball was given within the mansion; she had been accustomed to attend such occasions, but her renewed soul, now "crucified to the world," and delicately sensitive to all danger, dreaded a recommencement of her former gay indulgences; yet she feared the unfavorable construction which the family and her

friends generally would put upon her conduct if she should seclude herself from the recreation of the evening. She resisted her scruples at last, but the occasion closed with the loss of that peaceful frame of mind which she had enjoyed before it, and a deep sense of self-abasement and gloom spread over her spirit. She sought again the peace she had lost, and never afterward periled it by participating in such worldly dissipations as are incompatible with the spirit of the Scriptures, (however they may not be specifically prohibited by their letter,) and incongenial with the prayerful, the lowly, the consecrated temper of pure religion, one trait of which, St. James tells us, is to "keep ourselves unspotted from the world."

However Miss Livingston's strong good sense might have suggested to her the innocence, and even desirableness, of amusements, of a suitable kind under suitable circumstances, yet that very good sense was it that dictated the conclusion to which she came to break away at once and forever from such recreations as tended to worldly dissipation, such as it would not be well to be overtaken in by death. And most salutary was her course in this respect; she became the object of mingled endearment and reverence in the large circle of society in which she moved. Seldom, if ever, was there more of Christian propriety, good sense, and kindly for-

bearance, combined in a single character; and seldom, if ever, did a Christian lady command more profound esteem and love through such extended and exalted social relations. The gay, and the splendid in talent and reputation, sought her company as a source of instruction and refined social enjoyment; her beautiful residence was the resort continually of such, as well as of the devout, who came to it as to a sanctuary of all the best enjoyments of this life, and of the best hopes of the life to come. Even down to almost her hundredth year, she was a ministering angel to the extensive branches of her distinguished family, and the remnants of her earlier circle of associates. She was usually called by them, in their last days, if not earlier, to explain to them the faith which had so sanctified and blessed her life, and several of them were converted, through her instructions and prayers, on their dying beds.*

Such was the lady who, undazzled by the brilliancy of her sphere, chose the companionship of Garrettson in the way to heaven, rather than to enjoy the pleasures of the world for a season.

President Olin, who had frequently shared the

* I have been informed that she was instrumental in leading her brother, Chancellor Livingston, to peace in death; and such views and enjoyments of religion had that eminent man before he died, that he expressed a wish to live, only that he might lay aside his public honors, and become a preacher of the faith that had saved him.

hospitalities of her house, and went thither to "mourn with those who mourned" her decease, said, in his discourse over her coffin, that "she had left an example of Christian piety as pure, beautiful, and attractive, as the Church militant in these latter days is wont to exhibit. That within the memory of the present generation she has not been known to perform an action, or speak a word, or manifest a temper, not in harmony with her Christian profession. That those who had the happiness of enjoying her intimate acquaintance—those who were accustomed to meet with her where the 'children of God spake often one to another'—know well that through these long years she has not rested from her labors as victor upon a conquered field. They will testify that, with no intermission, she has to the last been eminently active, watchful, and self-denying; that she, more than those around her, 'prayed without ceasing;' that she constantly 'hungered and thirsted after righteousness;' that her religious experience and utterances were ever fresh, edifying, and spiritual; that she was reverent, humble, grateful, trustful, filial, quite above the examples of our current Christianity." "For myself," he added, "I seemed always, when in her presence, in what (for want of some more descriptive term) has often been denominated a *religious atmosphere*."

Her vigorous mind was familiar with the political

history of the country, and to the last took a patriotic interest in its public measures. Dr. Olin remarked on this subject that, "in everything that concerned her own country, her deepest feelings were enlisted. Hers was a patriotism born amid the stirring scenes and profound excitements of the war of independence. She had been acquainted with Washington and Jay, and many of the ruling spirits of that day; and the gallant Montgomery, whose blood flowed early in the great struggle for freedom, was a favorite brother-in-law. These circumstances had no doubt much influence in forming, if we may use such language in speaking of a woman, her political opinions and character. The strength, intensity, and dignity of these might be denominated Roman, but for the profounder Christian sentiment with which her thoughts and conversation were imbued, whenever her country and its interests were the theme."

She died as she had lived, with a "lively hope" of immortality. "Her last intelligible utterances were made up of what made up her life — earnest prayer and triumphant assurance. 'Come, Lord Jesus! come, Lord Jesus! come quickly!' she cried, with eyes and hands raised toward heaven. Soon after, clapping her hands in holy triumph, she three times exclaimed exultingly, 'He comes! He comes! He comes!'"

I have been the more minute in these details, because no memoir of Mrs. Garrettson has yet been published, though few, if any, of the early women of American Methodism have been more widely known. She died in 1849, aged ninety-six years. Her character was one of the finest that a biographer could portray. I am sure that the many who knew and loved her will not deem tedious these cursory notes, suggested on the spot whose beauties were enhanced and consecrated by the sanctity of her life and the nobleness of her character.

After traveling as a Methodist preacher through all the Middle and Northern States for years, the growth of the Church, and the consolidation of its sectional departments of labor, fixed Freeborn Garrettson's sphere mostly on the Hudson; he had been the chief founder of our cause along that stream, and now became for many years its superintendent as a presiding elder. This led him at last to select the beautiful site at Rhinebeck for the home of his declining days. It was not provided as a refuge from labor, but as an occasional retreat, and an asylum when he could no longer travel. Still, such were his scruples respecting the ministry as a divine *vocation* (and not a *profession*) that he felt no little anxiety about the propriety of making even this "provision for the flesh." He died away from it at his work.

The following is the account given by Mrs. Garrettson of the manner in which they took possession of their new home: "Our house being nearly finished, in October, 1799, we moved into it; and the first night, in family prayer, while my blessed husband was dedicating it to the Lord, the place was filled with His presence, who in the days of old filled the temple with his glory. Every heart rejoiced, and felt that God was with us of a truth. Such was our introduction into our new habitation; and had we not reason to say, with Joshua, *As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord?*"

Having erected his house, he enjoyed its beautiful seclusion with the zest which his good taste and very warm domestic affections could not fail to give to such a home. He labored, meanwhile, in the ministry, as his years and infirmities would admit. His mansion became, and continues to be, the resort of his ministerial brethren, and a large circle of kindred and friends. Its doors have always been open, and its hospitalities without restraint; and the Methodist itinerant meets there a welcome which speaks unequivocally to his heart the benediction, "Come in, thou blessed of the Lord!" That benediction glowed in every feature of Freeborn Garrettson when a brother laborer approached his door; and the spirit of the father has descended in a double measure, if possible, to his only child,

who still maintains the old hospitality and sanctity of the homestead. Asbury often directed his weary course thither as to a temporary resting-place, and from it to a similar shelter at Governor Van Courtlandts, "whose wife," he says, "was a Shunamite indeed," for the influence of the Garrettson family brought not a few such families into intimate relations with Methodism. Garrettson's house was called "Traveler's Rest." "He hath," says Asbury, "a beautiful land and water prospect, and a good, simply elegant, useful house for God, his people, and the family. We regaled ourselves and horses upon the pleasant banks of the Hudson, where the passing and repassing of boats and small craft, perhaps fifty in a day, is a pleasant sight. On Sunday we had a sermon, and administered the sacrament at Brother Garrettson's; and notwithstanding public worship was held at the Dutch Church at the same hour, we had a large congregation. Bishop Whatcoat and myself filled up the service of the day." On another occasion he says: "We rested at Traveler's Rest, upon the solitary banks of Hudson, with my dear friends Freeborn Garrettson and his prudent, pious wife. We have heat, heat, great heat. I had to tear myself away from these precious souls: I do believe God dwells in this house."

The house itself is not ostentatious, but com

modious, with abundant apartments; a good library-room — consecrated as both a Sunday-school and class-room — connecting with a conservatory, and looking out upon the river; piazzas upon which the low windows open from the parlors and sitting-rooms; and groups of noble trees, which overshadow and shelter the building with an air of comfortable protection. It is reached by a carriage-path from the main road, and is quite hid from the view of the latter. The lawn and flower-garden, and clumps of forest-trees around it, are arranged with the best taste, and render it, in fine, one of the most delightful, if not one of the most elegant, residences of the neighborhood.

While the exterior of this beautiful seat presents such real attractions, its interior is not without higher interest. To say nothing of its fine antique furniture, which the caprice or good sense of fashionable taste is now bringing into use again; the ample library, with its good stock of old Methodist works; or the exceedingly comfortable-looking and homelike construction and arrangement of the apartments, the house is full of agreeable and historical associations. Many of its relics are precious, and if the visitor is so disposed, the conversation of its present intelligent hostess can detail reminiscences of the old times—the early characters and struggles of the Church—of no little interest. The walls are adorned by busts

and original portraits of the distinguished members of the Livingston family. There is also a very fine original portrait of Asbury, and a good one of Free-born Garrettson himself. The former has a characteristic expression about the eyes which the engraved likenesses of the great American evangelist have failed to represent. One of the most interesting of these paintings is a striking likeness of Catharine Garrettson. Though taken when she had seen more than threescore years and ten, it presents a freshness and fullness of feature which may literally be pronounced beautiful. A moral beauty, still more striking, glows over the countenance; that intellectual superiority and nobleness which so much characterized her family, and which speak from all these portraits and busts, predominate in this fine old face also, and are enhanced by an expression of Christian tenderness and dignity which cannot fail to arrest and impress the attention of the most casual spectator.

The original correspondence and autographs of distinguished public characters form a numerous and interesting class of relics here. A large volume, substantially bound, and entitled, in gilt label, "Centenary Reminiscences," contains not merely autographs, but entire letters, from the most eminent men of early Methodism. Wesley, Asbury, and Coke were correspondents of the family; the

letters of the latter form quite a budget, and throw some light on the early history of the Church. Most of the later leaders of our cause have left autographic relics in this volume. One of the most interesting is a letter addressed to Garrettson by Summerfield, when the latter was prostrated with sickness; it would have befitted the pen of St. John.

Among the other autographs—many of them entire letters—from public men, are those of Washington, La Fayette, Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, Pinckney, Generals Gates, Greene, Kosciusko, etc., George Canning, Count Rumford, Chalmers, Montgomery, Wirt, etc., etc. Among the autographs of females of distinction are those of Madame de Stael, and the correspondence with Mrs. Garrettson of Mrs. Grant, Mrs. Warren, (dated at Plymouth,) and Lady Washington; the latter full of those religious sentiments which the influence of Catharine Garrettson could not fail to inspire or elicit among her thoughtful female friends.

Asbury's intercourse with this family brought him into intimate relations with the Livingstons and their circle of society. In 1799 he writes: "I visited Mr. Sands's family, and on Wednesday breakfasted with Mrs. Montgomery at her beautiful retreat. Dined at Mrs. Livingston's, on the manor; an aged, respectable mother of many children. The house, the garden, the river view—all might afford

much painting for the pen of a Hervey. Brother Garrettson and his agreeable wife attended us." And in 1800 he thus notices the death of the Roman mother of the family: "Freeborn Garrettson came up with us: he attended the funeral of the venerable mother Livingston, who was suddenly and safely called home, aged seventy-eight. Madam Livingston was one that gave invitation to the Methodist preachers to come to Rhinebeck, and received them into her house; and would have given them more countenance had she been under no other influence than that of the Spirit of God and her own feelings. I visited her one year before her death, and spent a night at her mansion; she was sensible, conversable, and hospitable."

Among the many Christian companions of Catharine Garrettson, won to the Church by her influence, was Catharine Rutsen, afterward CATHARINE SUCKLEY. The name of Suckley was long eminent in the history of New York Methodism, and Catharine Suckley was prominent in the "goodly company" of Asbury's female friends. Her family was his frequent home; and among its most sacred heir looms is, not only his own portrait, but the only one extant of his own beloved and distant mother, which he placed under the protection of Catharine Suckley that he might greet it, on the walls of her "Prophet's

Chamber," whenever in his episcopal wanderings he could return to it. A member of the Garrettson family has sketched the character of Catharine Suckley. "Her father died," she writes, "at an early age, leaving his two daughters coheiresses to large landed estates. She was made a subject of divine grace at the age of twenty-one, and became a pattern of cheerful piety to her dying day. This event opened to us a union of spirit which was a source of happiness to us both. In the high bloom of beauty, admired, beloved, and followed, she became sensible of the importance of religion. This she held dearer than all created things; this occupied her whole soul; and her gratitude to God for snatching her from the caresses of the world was often repeated and expressed in her writings. She was remarkable for a very vivid imagination, and a sensibility which heightened all her enjoyments, and made her society fascinating. Her talent for conversation could be exceeded by no one —she was always new. Benevolence glowed in her face and sparkled in her eye; her charity extended to all. She appeared always to be in a prayerful frame of mind. In the early part of her religious career she was sorely tempted respecting that Church in which, afterward, she so often exulted in having become a member. Her love for souls was ardent and sincere; and none could leave her company without sharing in her prayers and being followed by her blessing.

"The dealings of God toward her in many things were very remarkable; but they who devote themselves to his service, as she eminently did, may hope for the guidance of his Spirit. 'The secret of the Lord is with the righteous.' Her intercourse with God was such that she brought all her concerns, spiritual and temporal, to the mercy-seat, and could then wait without any anxiety the issue of his will. And the answers to her prayers were so frequent that she stood strong in faith, giving glory to God. Her marriage was in a remarkable way brought about by Him whose parental care watched over her for good. The objections she entertained to wedded life were strong and constant, and yet so unequivocally was the will of God made known to her that all scruples were overcome, and she became the wife of one whom she had long known and loved. She finished her earthly career in November, 1825. A letter from a friend thus announced her departure: 'The die is cast, the spirit has returned to God who gave it, and the dear dust will to-morrow be conveyed to the house appointed for all living; and methinks a purer spirit never inhabited a mansion of clay since the transgression of our first parents. With a solemn delight I love to dwell on the various excellences of this dear departed saint. I think of my own loss; I reflect that I shall no more behold the tender, the cheerful smile with which she ever

met my embrace, and I shall no more pour into her affectionate and sympathizing bosom my joys and my complaints—and my heart is melted with sorrow.' Her end, like her life, was peaceful and bright with foretastes of heavenly rest; not a doubt or fear was permitted to assail her. Calmly she sank into her bed of rest, while her buoyant spirit rose to join the praises of the sky, and own her kindred; there she meets a mother and a sister, perhaps waiting around her pillow to lead the way. How much will they have to communicate; how much to enjoy. Who would forego a happy eternity for anything this sublunary world could promise or bestow?

"In copying my dear friend's journal, or rather daily walk with God, I have been at a loss what to leave, or which to prefer, where all was excellent and expressive of a heart simply given up, and fervently engaged for entire devotion. This she attained in a very uncommon degree. She lived religion, and felt sensibly the importance of the soul; and eternity will disclose for how many she has importuned with effect. Being dead, she yet speaketh."

"More than half a century ago there dwelt among the mountains which embosom West Point, on the Hudson River, a few plain Quakers and some devoted Methodists. Of these was born, in 1806, one whose

life and death have illustrated the grace of God in renewing and sanctifying the soul, and the love of God, in an entire consecration of the whole life to the missionary cause. This person was the late Mrs. Ann Wilkins."

So writes Dr. Durbin, the representative of the missions of American Methodism, in the too brief record of one of the noblest women who have illustrated the history of the Church. It is to be deplored that no adequate account of her labors has yet been prepared, and that we can but allude to her in passing to the close of our volume, for Ann Wilkins deserves an ample place among the female worthies of the Church. She was a type, a model, of a class of its laborers who, agreeing in character with the earlier women whom we have recorded, have achieved signal services in more modern and more extended spheres of usefulness. She was, adds the missionary secretary, "converted to God at the age of fourteen, and thus escaped the snares and fascinations of the world. But the indomitable spirit that God had given her, and the vigorous person in which he had placed that spirit, were not willing to defend her Christian purity and life by retiring into privacy, where there would be but little danger, because little temptation; but with a proper Christian confidence, at nineteen years of age she stepped forth into the arena of active life as a teacher of youth, moved

thereto chiefly by the desire and hope of leading her pupils to Christ."

In listening, in 1836, amid a vast throng, in a grove, to a narrative of the Methodist mission work in Africa, given by a returned missionary, she was profoundly impressed; she saw in that field, of moral as well as physical death, an arena befitting her spirit of self-sacrifice. She gave at the time all the money she had to the collection taken up for the mission, and sent to Rev. Dr. Bangs, then missionary secretary, a brief but striking note, saying: "A sister, who has but little money at command, gives that little cheerfully, and is willing to give her life as a female teacher if she is wanted."

Early in the next year Ann Wilkins was on the sea, with a mission company, destined to Liberia. "From the hour," says Dr. Durbin, "that she beheld the low, palm-bearing coast of Liberia, she never forgot it in her conversation, her labors, or her prayers. Upon landing she immediately commenced her work, by gathering around her a company of the children, and became their teacher. Out of this movement sprung the 'Millsburg Female Boarding School,' the very mention of which gives out an odor of a sweet smell to the name of Mrs. Wilkins. Twice her health failed her, and she sank down to the verge of the grave, but would not desert her work, till the counsel and constraint of those who had influence and

authority in the matter caused her to make a voyage home. When she returned home, in 1853, without afflicting her by telling her we thought, possibly, her mission was ended in Africa, the Board quietly accepted as a fact that her work in Africa was done. But this was a mistake. Three devoted Christian young women insisted on going out to Africa as teachers, and the Board, seeing they were intent on this, said, 'The will of God be done.' But the Board thought it prudent to ask Mrs. Wilkins if she would return to Africa with these three young women, and watch over them, and assist them till they should become acclimated and established in their schools. Without the slightest hesitation she consented, and they sailed in October, 1854. Her health gradually gave way, and she was forced to return home in 1856. It was now evident, beyond a doubt, that her residence in Africa was at an end. And yet the return voyage, and the society of friends, and the comforts which she found wherever she went, much improved her health. Upon the first gleam of hope and confidence that she could still do something toward promoting the happiness and salvation of her fellow-beings, she began to ask for work, and would not be content till she was admitted as an officer, in active service, in the Juvenile Asylum of New York. Alas! this effort still to do good was but the spasmodic exhibition of a life which panted to be useful,

but had expended its power. In forty-eight hours from her entrance on service in the asylum she lay upon her bed, gradually sinking, till, at the end of the sixth day, she died in great peace.

"But those six days were eventful days, crowned with glory and honor. None approached her without being illuminated by the depth and gleam of her piety: it literally shone upon and penetrated every one that came into communion with her during these days. The words she uttered were listened to with eagerness, and treasured up in the inmost recesses of the memory and of the heart. They are still repeated within the circle of those friends who knew her inner life, as oracles issuing out of the temple of God. Their practical power may be faintly realized by the reply of the proper officers of the Juvenile Asylum to the Missionary Society, when its recording secretary said he had come to make the asylum suitable compensation for their trouble and kindness to our sister Wilkins during her illness. The asylum said, 'No, indeed; we have had reward enough; it was as if waiting upon an angel of God; we never saw such a person; such dying we never witnessed.' As the Sunday after her decease approached, all that was mortal of Ann Wilkins, accompanied by her mother and by the recording secretary of the Missionary Board, was conveyed to the old homestead of the family, near

Fort Montgomery, and, after appropriate funeral services, her remains were deposited in the sepulcher of her fathers, where she now sweetly sleeps amid the everlasting hills on the banks of the Hudson."

But the name of Ann Wilkins will never die in the Church: it is venerated on both shores of the Atlantic; it will be canonized in the future Christian calendar of Africa. Her character was singularly fitted for her work. The portrait that remains of her bears marks of the wear of years and of the exhaustive effects of the African climate; but expresses, also, the heroic energy, the considerate calmness and firmness, that made her whole life one of effective work. Quiet even to reticence, of few and meek words, conversing more with God than with man, and of the deepest humility, she nevertheless showed herself mighty of soul in the weakness of her sex and of prostrate health, and her name has become a watchword to scores of her Methodist sisters who, following her example, have devoted themselves to labor and suffering for their Church in the ends of the earth.

It has been affirmed that the name of Barbara Heck will rank forever at the head of her sex in the ecclesiastical history of the New World; American Methodism has another similarly pre-eminent name

in another but most important sphere of usefulness. A bishop of the Church* has said: "The name of ELIZA GARRETT will be honored while the world endures. As time shall develope the good results and the far-reaching influence of the institution founded by her munificence, it will be ranked by faithful historians with the names of Brown and Girard, Harvard and Yale. It will be singular in American history as that of the first female in our country who has attained so distinguished a rank by an act of Christian philanthropy."

Eliza Garrett founded one of the most momentous institutions of American Methodism by a donation of about a quarter of a million of dollars — a gift which promises to be of redoubled value. Her maiden name was Eliza Clark. She was born March 5, 1805, near Newburgh, N. Y. She was an example of the salutary effects of early religious training; the influence of her parental home formed her character for piety and usefulness. She grew up with the habitual consciousness that "none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself," and that the highest felicity of life is in its beneficence. She was married in 1825 to Augustus Garrett, a man of energetic character, but unfortunate for years in his business undertakings. They were both, however, examples of the persistent spirit of the American

* Bishop Clark, in "Our Excellent Women."

people, and, baffled in one place, courageously began life again in another. The prolonged experiment was repeated in Cincinnati after failing in New York, in New Orleans after failing in Cincinnati, in Natchitoches after New Orleans, in Chicago after Natchitoches. Sadder trials tested them in this painful struggle. They lost their first-born child by cholera, in its fourth year, while passing down the Mississippi, and were compelled to pause and leave it in a grave on the bank of the river. Their only surviving child, a son, also died at Natchitoches, and at last, in 1834, they wended their way, stricken yet never abandoning hope, to Chicago. The great city was then but a village, but the sagacious merchant saw there the certainty of immense growth, and of affluent reward to skill and integrity.

In about five years after their arrival they both joined the Methodist Church of Clark-street, under the pastoral care of Rev. P. R. Borein. "With that church," says her biographer, "Mrs. Garrett became identified, and in it she continued a worthy member till her death, nearly seventeen years afterward. During this entire period she was characterized by a steady devotion to the service of God, and by a strict observance of the rules of the Church, together with a firm and constant fidelity to its interests. When at home and in health, her place at public worship, as well as in the class and prayer

meetings, was never vacant. Her religious duties and obligations were ever held paramount to all else. A beautiful consistency of profession and conduct distinguished her demeanor both as a Christian and in the social circle. Many of her associates were not religious; some of them were vain and worldly. Her influence even upon such inspired in them the highest respect for her Christian principles, and impressed them with the reality and true dignity of the Christian life. She was always benevolent in proportion to her available means, but her charities were unostentatious. With her own hands she labored for the poor, and her feet often bore her to their habitations on errands of mercy. Yet she did not seek to be solitary in these acts of kindness, but co-operated freely with other ladies of her Church and city in associations for benevolent purposes."

Though for some years under the necessity of still struggling for success, it pleased God at last to reward their persevering endeavors. Mr. Garrett commanded public respect, and was elected mayor of the city. His investments became the sure, though as yet prospective, guarantees of great wealth. "It may be doubted whether his political or business prosperity proved a blessing to him personally. Certain it is that he repeatedly expressed his conviction, that, with his activity of mind and restless energy, he could never live as a Christian unless he devoted his means

and efforts to founding and building institutions for the Church. 'He knew his duty, but he did it not.' In December, 1848, he was summoned into the presence of his Judge, and his widow was left to perform the great work which he had refused to do. Being without children, she became possessed of one half of his property absolutely and in fee. From this time forward Mrs. Garrett cherished a deep sense of responsibility for the right use of the means providentially placed at her disposal. Although not advanced in life, and enjoying vigorous health, she did not long delay the preparation of a will, designed to be the exponent of her wishes and Christian purposes when she should be taken away. Grant Goodrich, Esq., of Chicago, had been the attorney and intimate friend of her husband, and also of herself during the settlement of Mr. Garrett's estate. To him, as her legal adviser, and as also a Christian friend most competent to appreciate her views and wishes, she made early application to aid her in the preparation of her last will and testament. Both were conscious that the task before them was one of no ordinary importance, and they made it a matter of careful study and devout consideration. It would have been easy to distribute a fortune among worthy objects; but to form a plan for the accomplishment of the largest possible good was a task requiring no ordinary anxiety, thought, and prayer.

From the first, Mrs. Garrett inclined to an educational enterprise in some form. She believed that the future of the Church and the country demanded the thorough intellectual training of the young under the auspices of Christianity."

It was precisely at this point that the superior sense and character of this excellent woman were displayed. Methodism had always favored education; it was at this moment in advance of most, if not all other, religious denominations of the country in the number, if not the effectiveness, of its colleges and academies; but it was yet generally prejudiced against institutions expressly for ministerial education. That prejudice had, after no inconsiderable struggle, given way in some of the eastern states, especially in New England, where a theological school, or "Biblical Institute," had been founded; but the General Church had not yet given it any recognition, nor dared its friends hope for any such sanction, except as a distant favor. Eliza Garrett's thoughtful intelligence and piety placed her, in this respect, in advance of her people. She saw that Methodism sustained an immeasurable responsibility for the moral and social training of the whole republic, as it was the predominant popular faith; she perceived also that its advancement thus far in educational provisions had prepared the way for this further advancement, and that God had placed in

her hands the financial means of initiating it in the general Church as it had been attempted in a local ity. And such was the result; for when her proposition came before the General Conference, that body saw that it could not disregard so remarkable a providential opportunity, so munificent an offering. It may well be doubted whether the session which accepted and approved her overture, and thereby settled the policy of the denomination on the question, would not have rejected any less providential appeal to its opinions; and to Eliza Garrett, therefore, belongs the credit of turning the whole Church into this new career of ministerial improvement.

Her sober wisdom was also shown in the fact that, in laying such ample and stable foundations for this great interest, she placed her plans under the guardianship of the General Church, in its General Conference. Though necessarily local in its site and immediate management, it was made a General Conference institution. "After due reflection and inquiry, she resolved," adds her biographer, "to found an institution for ministerial education. Her will was executed on the second day of December, 1853. After making legacies to sundry individuals to the amount of somewhat more than one-third of her estate, her will conveyed 'all the rest and residue — that is to say, the rents, issues, profits, and proceeds

thereof'—to the erection, furnishing, and endowment of 'a Theological Institution for the Methodist Episcopal Church, to be called the Garrett Biblical Institute.' Said institution was to be located in or near Chicago, and was to be placed perpetually under the most careful guardianship of the Church. The property was not to be used till its increase or condition should give promise of the successful accomplishment of the object to which it was devoted. The will also, with a wise reference to the distant future, contained this proviso: 'In case at any time the said trust property, the rents, issues, and proceeds thereof, shall exceed the amount necessary to build, fit, furnish, endow, and support said Biblical Institute as aforesaid, I direct and devote the surplus to accumulate, or otherwise to be invested for accumulation, for the erection within the city of Chicago, or its vicinity, of a Female College, as soon as my said executors, the survivors or survivor of them, or the trustees of said trust property, as herein provided, shall deem the same adequate therefor; the said Female College to be under the same control and government, and the trustees to be elected in the same manner, and to possess the same qualifications as are provided for said Biblical Institute.' At the time when Mrs. Garrett's will was executed, it was not supposed by herself or her friends that the benevolent designs she contemplated could be accomplished

from the avails of her estate for some years to come. Her property had been rendered, by fires, mostly unproductive, while it was, to some extent, encumbered with debts. At this point a fact should be stated most honorable to her name, and highly illustrative of her Christian self-denial. So anxious was she to disencumber her estate of its liabilities at the earliest possible period, and make it available to carry out her pious and benevolent designs, that for several years she would only accept four hundred dollars per annum for her support, and nearly half of that she devoted to religious uses."

Her self-denial in this respect reminds us of the example of Mary Fletcher, at Madeley. It was not parsimony, it was that exalted enthusiasm (the more remarkable for her habitual sobriety) which belongs to all grand and heroic aims, and which, by concentrating in them the whole energy of life, guarantees at once their success and their greatness.

The announcement of the magnificent design produced a profound interest throughout the Church. Its best minds saw in the plan, so effectively endowed, another pledge of the grand future of the denomination which so many presages had been foretokening; and the grateful satisfaction of the Church was enhanced by the fact that it was another proof of the providential agency of woman in the history of the denomination. It willingly placed the

name of Eliza Garrett in the calendar of its many female worthies. "The providence of God," continues her biographer, "did not allow designs so wise, and so essential to the welfare of his Church, to remain long undeveloped. The friends of the Church became interested to have the measure proposed carried into operation at the earliest moment possible. A beautiful site had just been selected for the Northwestern University on the shore of Lake Michigan, twelve miles north of Chicago, and it was resolved to erect at the same place a temporary building for the Biblical Institute. Through the agency of the Rev. P. Judson, the building was promptly constructed; so that in January, 1855, a temporary organization of the institute was effected, under charge of the Rev. Dr. Dempster. It was arranged that this organization should be supported independent of the estate for a period of five years. Meantime a charter for the permanent institution was secured from the legislature of the state, in full accordance with Mrs. Garrett's wishes. Events were now progressing in a most satisfactory manner, and there was every prospect that Mrs. Garrett, who had been present at the opening of the introductory institution, might see it accomplish its period of service, and then, having laid with her own hand the corner-stone of the permanent institute, live to witness its results in following years. But Providence directed otherwise. In

the autumn of 1855, from a state of perfect health, she was stricken down with mortal disease, and, after a few days of suffering, was called to her reward on high. On Sunday evening, the 18th of November, she was in her place at church, and on Thursday, the 22d, she breathed her last! To remove all possible doubt of her intentions and cherished purposes, one of her last acts was to confirm her bequest to the Garrett Biblical Institute, as chartered by the foregoing session of the legislature. Having arranged her earthly affairs, she serenely awaited the Master's summons into his presence. In Christian triumph she met her last enemy, and found him robbed of his sting. The Saviour, to whom she had committed the keeping of her soul, gave her grace to come off 'more than conqueror.' His supporting presence was gloriously manifest in the trying hour, enabling her to exclaim, with her latest breath, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul!'"

Thus did this noble woman accomplish a work worthy of the greatest life. Her good sense saved her from the failure into which many of similar responsibility for wealth fall. She was religiously thoughtful of the uncertainties of human life from the inception of her scheme; she therefore provided the promptest securities for it. Had she delayed her will, as is too often the case, her sudden sickness and death would hardly have admitted of the mature

preparation of her sublime and far-reaching plan, but she was found ready when the summons to her reward came. Her work was done and grandly done, and she could depart with the devout and comfortable assurance, that for ages to come the Church of her God would be incalculably blessed through the wealth with which he had blessed her. She has the honor of having made the largest pecuniary benefaction to Methodism of any woman in its history, if not indeed of any woman in the history of Protestantism.

The institution, which will forever perpetuate her name, was permanently organized in a temporary building in the fall of 1856, and has thus far been maintained without cost to the Church. Since its opening it has given free instruction to more than three hundred candidates for the Christian ministry, more than one hundred of whom are now preaching the Gospel in different annual conferences and mission fields. Its patronage has already represented eighteen states and two territories of the American Union, besides the District of Columbia and several foreign countries. It has during the first eight years of its existence been attended by graduates of twenty-one American colleges, and by students from thirty-four annual conferences, thus illustrating its adaptation to the wide-spread and urgent want of the Church.

In view of the pressure now made upon its resources and of the prospect of an increasing and perpetual demand for its advantages, the trustees of this school of sacred learning deem it a duty to consecrate Mrs. Garrett's bequest exclusively to its endowment. Originally they hoped to be able to reserve from the income of her legacy a sufficient sum to enable them to erect suitable and permanent buildings. The experiment of maintaining the institution, even in the earlier stages of its existence, convinced them of the impracticability of that hope without the curtailment of essential educational advantages. Hence they found themselves, a year or two since, under the necessity of appealing to the Church and its friends for funds to enable them to construct permanent buildings. Their appeal had already been sanctioned by various annual conferences, and when at the proper time it was submitted to the General Centenary Committee it was officially accredited as eminently just.

Monumental buildings for the Garrett Biblical Institute were accordingly designated as a prominent object of Connectional Centenary contributions. Within the range of that object, and as a most fitting part of the plan, the Ladies' Centenary Association proposes to construct an edifice, at an expense of $50,000, to be used as a

home for the students, and to be named HECK HALL, in honor of Barbara Heck, the foundress of American Methodism.*

I have thus recorded some of the memorable names of women who have illustrated the history of Methodism. Many of the most conspicuous have been necessarily omitted. They throng its annals from its origin down to our day. Their agency forms one of the most striking features of its history. Their activity, organized by Wesley, continues to promote its progress vigorously in all its fields. Occasionally they still appear in the more public labors which were exemplified by Mary Fletcher, Hester Ann Rogers, and Grace Murray; the more ample growth of the regular ministry has, however, relieved them generally of such services; but as Sunday-school teachers, Academic teachers, and Missionaries, they form a numerous body of Church laborers. In the social services of Methodism (perhaps its most distinctive and effective means of success,) its class-meetings, love-feasts, and prayer-meetings, their power is universally prevalent in our day. In almost every church of the denomination, in the

* As will be seen from the Appendix and various Centenary documents, similar action, in all respects, was taken in behalf of the Biblical School of New England, which from its foundation has been doing a work of the highest importance for the Church, and which has corresponding claims upon the Centenary liberality of the whole Church.

city, or the humblest village and remotest neighborhood, they may be heard every week, among our chief witnesses for the faith. They also toil in innumerable forms of benevolent usefulness, often noiselessly, but none the less efficiently. They even take the lead in various philanthropic enterprises. Methodism far transcends Quakerism in the extent and effectiveness of the activity of its women. In fine, its early example in this respect has influenced its whole career down to the present day, and now awakens the brightest promise for the future. The women of the second century of American Methodism enter upon their privileges and responsibilities in the light of the pure examples and the successful efforts of the past. While their privileges are greatly multiplied, they can clearly see from the history of those who have gone before them that their own labor will not be in vain in the Lord. While, then, the Church may well rejoice over its record of devout women, both in its earlier and later history, it may confidently look to those at present within its pale to hand down similar examples and influences to generations following.

APPENDIX.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE AMERICAN LADIES' CENTENARY MOVEMENT.

ORIGIN.

No one aware of the important agency of females in the great Religious Movement of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, will have been surprised that pious women were among the first to respond to the official call of the American Methodist Church for a centenary offering of gratitude to Almighty God, designed "to render more efficient in the century to come those institutions and agencies to which the Church has been so deeply indebted in the century past."

Historians had repeatedly asserted, and readers generally assented, that Barbara Heck ought to have a worthy monument.

The approach of the centennial year furnished the fit occasion. The action of the General Centenary Committee suggested the appropriate form, and an urgent necessity fixed the special object. First among the special objects of connectional liberality the committee originally designated "buildings for the Biblical Institute at Evanston, Ill." Here was the proper idea of a monument—not a mere ornamental shaft, but a MEMORIAL BUILDING, designed to furnish a home for the sons of the prophets, the Philip Emburys of the coming century, while pursuing their sacred studies. It was a striking coincidence that at least three similar structures had been already reared by female benevolence in connection with three different theological institutions in the United States.*

What, therefore, could be more fitting than that the ladies of the Methodist Churches should combine to rear a similar

* Beatty Hall at Alleghany City, Pa., Hertzog Hall at New Brunswick, N. J., and Brown Hall at Princeton.

hall, designed to link together in perpetual remembrance, and in a perpetuity of usefulness, the names of Barbara Heck and Eliza Garrett! Such a design was promptly conceived and publicly proposed by the ladies of the West, who were in a position to see at once the urgent necessity, as well as the great propriety, of the movement. The American Methodist Ladies' Centenary Association was accordingly organized in Chicago in September, 1865.

PRIMARY DESIGN.

The primary design of the association is well set forth in the following extract of its appeal to the Methodist ladies of America:

"DEAR SISTERS IN CHRIST: As the one hundredth birthday of our Church in America draws near, do not our hearts, though always loving toward her, beat with a more intense devotion to her cause? Do not the thousands of us who have found in her a mother cherishing and tender, desire to manifest the gratitude we feel by bringing, in the hour of her rejoicing, some gift worthy of us to offer, as of her to accept? So we believe; and, certain that we do not mistake the impulses of those whom we address, we cordially solicit and confidently expect your aid in the conduct of an enterprise which shall attest our filial love for the Church whose name we bear.

"The fact is stated in our history, that a hundred years ago a woman first evoked the spirit of Methodism on our shores. Dr. Stevens says of Mrs. Barbara Heck, that 'she was really the Foundress of American Methodism.' Under God, she called out the first minister, convened the first congregation and class, and planned the first Methodist church edifice on this side the Atlantic.

"Another fact with which we are familiar is, that to Mrs. Eliza Garrett, a Methodist lady of fortune, we are indebted for the endowment of the Biblical Institute at Evanston, Ill., whose praise and patronage extend through all our borders.

"In connection with this institution the Church proposes to erect a memorial edifice for educational purposes during the centennial year; but another building is needed to furnish a home for the students while pursuing their theological course."

"The latter is the design of HECK HALL; and for women to build on a foundation laid by one of their own sex, and in honor of the woman who was mother to the infant Church now celebrating, in its strength, its first centennial, is certainly a fitting and delightful task. Moreover, since the memory of Mrs. Heck is dear and sacred to all Methodists, it is essential that all be invited to participate in its homage; hence this 'Appeal' to the ladies of the Church at large."

ENLARGEMENT OF PLAN.

When the above-stated design was communicated to the public, it met with a favor so general and so enthusiastic as to convince those acquainted with the plans of the association that it was capable of accomplishing much more than had been originally proposed.

The association therefore laid before the General Centenary Committee at its second meeting, held in November, 1865, its proposed plan of action and its appeal, together with a memorial asking official recognition, and suggesting an enlargement of its plan to embrace such other general objects of centenary action as might be deemed advisable, but specially naming the Biblical Institute at Concord. After due consideration the General Centenary Committee gave its official and cordial sanction to the association and its objects, with instructions to the Central Committee "to enlarge its basis, and extend the application of its funds to such other connectional objects as they may deem advisable." The action of the Central Centenary Committee was embodied in the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That said association be and it is hereby authorized to appropriate $100,000 from the funds first raised by it in equal parts of $50,000 each to the biblical schools at Evanston and Concord severally, and that all funds beyond that sum of $100,000 shall be given to the Centenary Educational Fund."

CONNECTIONAL CHARACTER.

By the action narrated above the character of the association was established as connectional in the fullest sense. Its primary design of rearing an edifice at Evanston in commemoration of MRS. HECK was expanded to the extent of conferring

a similar benefit upon the Biblical Institute of the New England states, and also of swelling by the entire surplus of its collections the Connectional Educational Fund designed to confer benefits with equal hand throughout the entire borders of the Church.

For statements of the character and importance of the Connectional Educational Fund reference may be made to the appendix of the Centenary volume and Centenary Document No. 2.

RELATIONS OF THE CONNECTIONAL FUND TO FEMALE EDUCATION.

In justice to the history of the Ladies' Association, it is proper to state that when the question of enlarging the application of its funds was before the Central Centenary Committee, its officers memorialized that committee to the effect that the surplus funds of the association, beyond the $100,000 designated for buildings, might be specially appropriated in aid of female education.

The committee not deeming itself authorized to create any special department of the fund provided for by the general committee, nevertheless officially communicated to the ladies the following opinion:

"You naturally feel an interest in providing for female education. As we understand the purposes of the 'Centenary Educational Fund,' our female schools and colleges are included in its scope. Certainly as a committee we are as deeply interested in the education in our schools of representatives of the gentler sex as of our young men."

This opinion was accepted as just and satisfactory. In the light of it all friends of female education should feel called upon to assist in swelling the contribution of the Ladies' Association so as to make the claim of the sex upon the connectional fund as large as possible.

PLANS OF OPERATION.

MEMBERSHIP, ETC.

The success of the American Ladies' Centenary Association will now depend wholly upon the practical support given it in the collection of funds for its treasury.

Funds are accordingly solicited as direct donations from all who approve of the objects above named, and also in the creation of various grades of MEMBERSHIP.

Any lady, by paying one dollar into the funds of the association, may become a member, and will be entitled to have her name recorded and preserved in the archives of the aforesaid Biblical Institutes.

The payment of ten dollars will constitute a life member, twenty-five dollars an honorary manager, one hundred dollars a patroness, one thousand dollars or more a benefactress.

CERTIFICATES.

All life members, honorary managers, patronesses, and benefactresses will be entitled to certificates. The engraving will be an ornament to any parlor in the land, and as a centenary memorial should be an heir-loom in every Methodist family.

BRANCH AND AUXILIARY ASSOCIATIONS — INDIVIDUAL AND CONGREGATIONAL ACTION.

Branch or auxiliary associations may be formed everywhere, and of any extent, embracing whole conferences, groups of conferences, or single appointments, as may be deemed most feasible.

Nevertheless, in view of the shortness of the time left for *action*, it has become apparent that immediate individual and congregational effort in the various appointments of the Church are of the greatest importance.

It should be distinctly borne in mind that the formation of local associations in any place for other purposes need not prevent the organization of auxiliaries or individual efforts in behalf of the connectional association.

The pastor's wife in each station or circuit, as an *ex-officio* manager of this association, is expected to call a meeting of the ladies, who shall devise and put in operation such measures as in their judgment shall be best adapted to procure funds.

If anything should prevent or too long delay the call thus provided for, it is to be hoped that other members of the Church will act discreetly and efficiently in the premises.

Is it in any sense too much to hope that whatever other enterprises may be taken in hand by ladies in connection with the centenary celebration, every Methodist woman in the land will wish at least to become a member of this association, and thus to contribute something toward the memorial building in commemoration of the name and virtues of Barbara Heck, as well as to the other objects of the association? Will not all who thus feel take timely steps to enroll themselves as members?

LADIES' CENTENARY VOLUME.

It will be specially appropriate everywhere to encourage young ladies and others to secure subscriptions for membership, and to circulate the present volume.

To encourage efforts of this kind the association proposes to send a handsomely bound copy of "The Women of Methodism" by mail, post-paid, to any who will secure ten subscriptions of any denomination from one dollar upward to the funds of the association, and forward the same to Miss Frances E. Willard, at Evanston, Ill., or to either of her associate corresponding secretaries representing the various branches.*

An effort should be made to secure as many life members, honorary managers, patronesses and benefactresses as possible. Every list of ten claiming this prize should include at least one of the above grades.

ACCOUNTS.

It is proposed to keep the accounts of the association in such a manner that *each annual conference shall be credited* with every dollar contributed through the Ladies' Association, and as the objects of the association are exclusively connectional, it is hoped that in many conferences this will become a favorite as well as efficient medium of benevolent centenary action.

FUNDS—REPORTS.

To facilitate the convenience of our friends in all parts of the Church, it is arranged that funds may be paid in to the book agents, Messrs. Carlton and Porter, New York; Messrs. Poe and

* Their names would have been given herewith had they been reported in time.

Hitchcock, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis; and J. P. Magee, Boston.

It is also presumed that the agents of all the book depositories of the Church will, when requested, receive centenary funds for transmission to the general treasurers.

It is, however, especially requested that whenever payments are thus made receipts be taken for the same, and that an accurate account of the names and residences of subscribers and donors be transmitted to the treasurer of the association, Mrs. Haskin, Evanston, Ill. All secretaries of branch and auxiliary associations, and all individuals who collect funds, are specially desired to make these reports, as the only means of obtaining a full and classified list of subscribers for publication and preservation.

FINAL WORD.

Our enterprise is now before the Church and the world. It remains to be seen what response will be made to our appeal, and what record shall be entered up by the women of 1866 to be reviewed by those of a hundred years to come. Well may this be called our golden opportunity. Never before was it providentially arranged that the women of American Methodism might act in unison for definite and grand objects. Never again shall we have such an opportunity of writing our names and influence upon the institutions and Christian agencies of an incoming century.

Every one will say that the work is good; but it cannot be done by words only. Deeds alone will speak to coming generations. Let us hope, therefore, that all who wish well to the enterprises taken in hand by the Ladies' Association will instantly and energetically act in their behalf. The time is short and precious. Let it be turned to the best possible account for the cause of God and the Church.

N. B.—All persons desiring copies of the constitution, forms of constitutions for branches or auxiliaries, or any special information concerning the American Methodist Ladies' Centenary Association, will be promptly supplied on addressing the Corresponding Secretary, Miss Frances E. Willard, Evanston, Illinois.

EXTRACT OF A CENTENARY ADDRESS BY REV. C. H. FOWLER.

One hundred years ago Barbara Heck called Philip Embury to be the first American Methodist minister. He had been an active devoted minister in Ireland, but this continent was too great a charge for him. His courage gave way under the burden. For six years he was obscured behind the cloud from which, at the fiat of her voice, he came forth to illumine this land and shed the light of a Gospel life upon unborn generations. One humble Christian heart was dropped into this continent. A territory wide enough for a hundred empires, and rich enough for a thousand millions of people, was quickened by the beatings of the divine life in that single heart. Barbara Heck put her brave soul against the rugged possibilities of the future, and throbbed into existence American Methodism. The leaven of her grace has leavened a continent. The seed of her piety has grown into a tree so immense that a whole flock of commonwealths come and lodge in the branches thereof. And its mellow fruit drops into a million homes. To have planted American Methodism; to have watered it with holy tears; to have watched and nourished it with the tender, sleepless love of a mother, and the pious devotion of a saint; to have called out the first minister, convened the first congregation, met the first class, and planned the first Methodist church edifice, and secured its completion, is to have merited a monument as enduring as American institutions, and in the order of Providence it has received a monument which the years cannot crumble; as enduring as the Church of God. The life-work of Barbara Heck finds its counterpart in the living energies of the Church she founded.

The American Methodist ladies purpose to erect a special monument to the memory of this Christian woman. Their ideal is to crystalize into homes worth at least $50,000 each, at Evanston and at Boston, for the students in these schools of the prophets. This purpose has three co-ordinate ideas: 1. To erect a monument to the memory of a benefactress of the Church; 2. To make a centenary offering to our Church; and, 3. To furnish homes for the coming ministry of the Church.

As a memorial it is every way fitting that the Methodist women of America should honor her whom history says really founded American Methodism, founded the Church which the great martyred President said "sent more men to the field, more nurses to the hospital, and more prayers to heaven for the Republic, than any other Church." Sowing the seed for such a harvest, she has pre-eminent claims for such a monument.

As an offering for the hundreth anniversary of the Church, it is a slight birthday token from daughters to their mother, whom a hundred winters have only strengthened, and whose vigor keeps pace with her experience. Faithful and obedient daughters, venerable and wise mother!

As a home for the coming ministry of the Church, in building it the ladies are only imitating the example of the great Head of the Church, who came into his work of the healing of souls through the healing of bodies. A soul is of no practical value that is not well housed in a body. To care for the bodies of men precedes a care for their souls. If you suffer a man's body to crumble to pieces you put his soul beyond all care. We have the divine order, first the natural, and after that the spiritual. Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things. Many a man with brain-power that might adorn and bless the Church and the world, is worn out in the hard drudgery for bread. Struggling for education with fortune all against him, he dies, killed, not by study, but by economy; by learning and practicing the awful art of living on nothing, and less than nothing. The Church has too long pursued the poor policy of letting the brains, which she could not furnish, die for want of the muscle which she could furnish. We hear much about self-made men, and I believe in them; for every *real* man is self-made. No matter how many institutions he may have to help him, if he does not make himself he is never half made.

Now the Ladies' Centenary Association proposes to give young men the helps of institutions and homes, so that the germs of their possibilities may be wrought out into actualities, that they may have the largest available power. These are the grand co-ordinate ideas of this Ladies' Centenary Association: to erect a monument to the memory of a benefactress of the Church; to make a centenary offering to the Church; and to furnish homes for the coming ministry of the Church.

This is a bond of union to the Church, braided with three golden strands: one the holy memories of the past; another the living activities of the present; the other the divine possibilities of the future. One, running through the graves of the sainted dead, binds us to the Church triumphant; another, running into the generous purposes of the living, binds us to the throbbing heart of the Church militant; the other, reaching out into the years to come, binds us to the pulpits and faith of all coming time. Surely they who put even one stone in Heck Hall pronounce a benediction upon their own and the stranger's children forever.

NAMES OF THE GENERAL CENTENARY COMMITTEE.

BISHOPS.

Thomas A. Morris, Edmund S. Janes, Levi Scott, Matthew Simpson, Osmon C. Baker Edward R. Ames, Davis W. Clark, Edward Thomson, Calvin Kingsley.

MINISTERS.

Rev. George Peck, D.D., Rev. Charles Elliott, D.D., Rev. John M'Clintock, D.D., Rev. D. P. Kidder, D.D., Rev. D. Patten, D.D., Rev. E. Thomas, Rev. D. W. Bartine, D.D., Rev. F. C. Holliday, D.D., Rev. Thomas Sewall, D.D., Rev. James F. Chalfant, Rev. Moses Hill, Rev. F. A. Blades.

LAYMEN.

Thomas P. Tasker, Esq., Philadelphia; George C. Cook, Esq., Chicago; Hon. James Bishop, New Brunswick, N. J.; Hon. John Owen, Detroit, Mich.; Isaac Rich, Esq., Boston; Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, St. Louis; I. P. Cook, Esq., Baltimore; Hon. Cary A. Trimble, Chillicothe, Ohio; Oliver Hoyt, Esq., New York; Alexander Bradley, Esq., Pittsburgh, Pa.; F. H. Root, Esq., Buffalo, N. Y.; Edward Sargent, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.

NAMES OF CENTRAL CENTENARY COMMITTEE.

Rev. Dr. M'Clintock, Rev. Dr. Curry, Rev. Dr. Crooks, Mr. Oliver Hoyt, Mr. James Bishop, Mr. C. C. North.

Rev. W. C. Hoyt, Secretary.

GENERAL TREASURERS OF CENTENARY FUNDS.

Messrs. Carlton and Porter, 200 Mulberry-street, New York; Messrs. Poe and Hitchcock, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago; James P. Magee, Boston.

N. B.—In a future edition it is proposed to publish a list of the chief officers of the American Methodist Ladies' Centenary Association, and all its branch and auxiliary associations; also the names of all who are constituted life members, honorary managers, patronesses, and benefactresses.

1866